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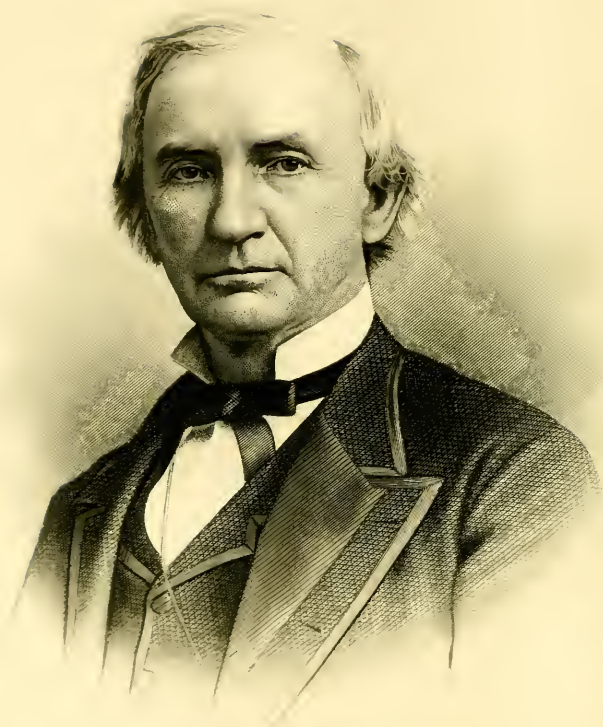
NOVEMBER, 1888.

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H. J. Lunt

Magazine of Western History.

VOL. IX.

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No. 1.

EARLY OIL DEVELOPMENTS.

THE petroleum deposits in parts of New York and Pennsylvania attracted the attention of the earliest explorers of these regions. The red men knew also of those deposits, and made use of the oil in painting their bodies and as an unguent for the relief of many of the ills to which flesh is heir. Mention of this oil was repeatedly made by the French missionaries before the end of the seventeenth century ; and in the year 1700 the governor of New York, in the course of certain instructions to Romer, who was sent to visit the Six Nations, says : "You are to go and view a well or spring which is eight miles beyond the Seneks furthest castle, which they have told me blazes up in a flame when a lighted coale or fire-brand is put into it ; you will do well to taste the said water, and give me your opinion

thereof and bring with you some of it."* Some twenty years later the celebrated Charlevoix says that an officer "worthy of credit," on the Upper Ohio, now called the Allegheny, assured him "that he had seen a fountain, the water of which is like oil and has the taste of iron. He said, also, a little further there is another fountain exactly like it, and that the savages made use of it to appease all manner of pains."

About 1767 David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary in the Allegheny river regions, says : "I have seen three kinds of oil springs—such as have an outlet, such as have none and such as rise

* For much of the material of this article, where not otherwise credited, I am indebted to the Report of the Geological Survey of Pennsylvania, 1886 : 'Oil and Gas Regions.' By John F. Carl.

from the bottom of the creeks. From the first, water and oil flow out together, the oil impregnating the grass and soil; in the second, it gathers on the surface of the water to the depth of the thickness of a finger; from the third, it rises to the surface and flows with the current of the creek. The Indians prefer wells without an outlet. From such they first dip the oil that has accumulated; then stir the well, and, when the water has settled, fill their kettles with fresh oil, which they purify by boiling. It is used medicinally, as an ointment for toothache, headache, swellings, rheumatism and sprains. Sometimes it is taken internally. It is of a brown color, and can also be used in lamps. It burns well."

In 1783 General Lincoln writes as follows: "In the northern parts of Pennsylvania there is a creek called Oil creek, which empties itself into the Allegheny river, issuing from a spring, on the top of which floats an oil, similar to what is called Barbadoes' tar, and from which may be collected by one man several gallons in a day. The troops, in marching that way, halted at the spring, collected the oil and bathed their joints with it. This gave them great relief, and freed them immediately from the rheumatic complaints with which many of them were affected."

Loskiel, in his 'History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren, 1789,' says: "One of the most favorite medicines used by the Indians is fossil oil, exuding from the earth, commonly with water. It is observed both in running and standing water. In the latter the oil swims on the

surface and is easily skimmed off, but in rivers it is carried away by the stream. Two [springs] have been discovered by the missionaries in the River Ohio. They are easily found by the strong smell they emit. This oil is of a brown color and smells something like tar. When the Indians collect it from a standing water, they first throw away that which floats on the top, as it smells stronger than that below it; then they agitate the water violently with a stick; the quantity of oil increases with the motion of the water, and after it has settled again the oil is skimmed off into kettles and completely separated from the water by boiling. They use it chiefly in external complaints. Some take it inwardly and it has not been found to do harm. It will burn in a lamp. The Indians sometimes sell it to the white people at four guineas a quart."

Samuel Maclay, in 1790, was appointed one of the commissioners to explore the streams of the new purchase, etc., in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. In his journal, under date of Sunday, August 1, he writes: "We arrived at Fort Frankland* about three o'clock. Though I continued to get something better, yet I mended but slowly. This afternoon I collected a small quantity of oyl from a small oyl spring in the bank of French creek, with which I had my back rubbed before I went to bed." The next day he says: "Felt something better and had

* He means Fort Franklin, where the city of Franklin, Venango county, now stands. An excellent edition of Maclay's journal was published by John F. Meginness, at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, in 1887.

my back rubbed with the oyl this morning.*

In the year 1806 Thomas Ashe, an Englishman, traveled through this country "for the purpose," as he says on the title-page of his book,† "of exploring the rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity." Ashe, unfortunately, is not always trustworthy in his statements; but his observations on this subject are entertaining, and we give them for what they are worth. "Not far from Pittsburgh," he says, "is a well, which has its surface covered with a bituminous matter resembling oil, and which the neighboring inhabitants collect and use in ointments and other medicinal preparations. The vapour arising from this well is inflammable, and has been known to hang in a lambent state over the orifice, being fed by fresh exhalations, for several hours together. The medical men of Pittsburgh profess to have analyzed this oil, and to have discovered in it a variety of virtues, if applied according to their advice."

* The healing virtues of petroleum are mildly stated by these early writers as compared with those of more modern date. In a notice "To the Readers of the Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate*," in 1852, setting forth the wonderful curative properties of "Petroleum or Rock Oil," the advertiser says: "Within the past two months, two of our own citizens, who were totally blind, have been restored to sight. Several cases of blindness in the state of Ohio have been cured, and, also, the case of a gentleman in Beaver county." He further says: "It is our duty when we write about a medicine, that we write the truth—that we say nothing calculated to deceive those who may trust our word or put confidence in our statements." Otherwise we might have doubted.

† 'Travels in America, Performed in 1806, for the Purpose,' etc. By Thomas Ashe, esq. Newburyport Reprint. 1808.

Again, he says: "Nearly opposite to Georgetown,‡ and a few yards from the shore, a spring rises from the bottom of the river, which produces an oil nearly similar to Seneca oil. I conjecture that this must proceed from a large bed of mineral coal in the vicinity of the spring. On first hearing of this, from an intelligent Scotchman, the postmaster at Georgetown, whom I questioned as to the curiosities of his neighborhood, I immediately crossed over in my canoe to examine the well and search for grounds on which to establish some particular conclusions. I found none perfectly satisfactory. The surface, about four feet in diameter, was covered over with an olive-colored slime, here and there rising in lobes filled, but not agitated, with confined air. On a more minute inspection, however, I perceived these globules burst and subside in gentle undulations, enclosing in a circle a matter whose color was less deep than that prevailing on the general face of the well. On discovering other globules to rise in succession, I gently dipped up a gourdful of water and globules while in the act of rising to the surface. I spilt the whole on the blade of the paddle, and could distinguish, very plainly, the oil which had been exposed to the air from the oil which just rose in search of it. On sounding, I found the well to be sixty-five feet deep—that is as deep as the bed of the adjacent river. On examining the neighborhood, it was plain that coal abounded, but I could not take upon me to assert that the well or its sources had any communication with that or any other mineral. As a last act,

‡ On the Ohio, thirty-eight miles below Pittsburgh.

I skimmed off a gourdful of oil, and again crossing the river, went to the house of a doctor, whom I supposed capable of analyzing the subject for me. On seeing my gourdful of oil, and the interest I took in the investigation of its properties, he very handsomely told me that 'he had but just turned doctor, and had not as yet given his time to such things.' My admiration of his candor covered him from contempt, and I returned to my Scotch friend more full of the dangerous idea of a man but 'just turned doctor,' and let loose on a sickly world, than I was of my gourd of oil, or the consequence of the discovery of its virtues to mankind."

The development of the oil industry, prior to 1859, was of slow growth. As late as 1843 the usual method of collecting the oil was still very primitive. "Oil creek," says Trego, "derives its name from the substance called Seneca oil, which rises in bubbles from the bed of the stream, and on reaching the top of the water these bubbles explode, leaving the oil floating on the surface. Though this oil is found in many places throughout the whole course of the stream, it is most abundant two or three miles from the mouth, where several of the owners of the land make a business of collecting the oil during the dry season, as it is most plentiful at low water. A dam of loose stones is raised a little higher than the surface of the water, ten or fifteen feet in diameter, around those places where the oil rises; an eddy is thus created inside of the wall which confines the floating oil, while the water passes freely between the loose stones. The oil is thus suffered to

accumulate for one, two or three days, until it becomes an inch or more in depth; a piece of flannel or blanket is then spread over it, which absorbs the oil, and it is afterwards wrung from the cloth into a barrel or some other vessel. The water which may be raised with it is drained off through a small hole at the bottom of the vessel. From two to ten or twelve barrels are collected in a season by each of the proprietors, the quantity depending upon the prevalence of dry weather and low water."* The price of the oil in Pittsburgh at that time was from seventy-five cents to one dollar per gallon.

"In the low grounds along this creek," Trego continues, "oil may be obtained by digging to a level with the bottom of the stream, but when thus procured it is not so pure and clean as that taken upon the surface of the creek. This mode of obtaining it has evidently been practiced by the Indians, or some other people, long before the white man set his foot upon the soil of this region. Places of four or five acres in extent may still be seen, where holes have been dug in the ground from six to twelve feet in diameter, close together, being yet from two to four feet deep, and having trees standing in many of them of upwards of one hundred years' growth. On the settlement of this part of the country, some of the oldest Indian residents were questioned respecting these excavations, but were unable to give any information concerning them."

In this last paragraph, Mr. Trego touches upon a topic of rare interest, which has been fully discussed by the Rev.

* 'A Geography of Pennsylvania.' By Charles B. Trego. Philadelphia: 1843. Page 359.

Mr. Eaton in his work entitled '*Petrolia: A History of the Oil Regions of Venango County.*'* "From the fact," says he, "that some of these pits have been cribbed with timber bearing marks of a cutting instrument in its adjustment, many have assigned them a modern origin, and supposed that their construction was due to the French, who, at one time [say from 1750 to 1760], occupied to a certain extent the Venango oil region. But this theory is scarcely plausible, and certainly not tenable. . . . There is evidence from the growth of timber in the very beds of these excavations, that they claim an antiquity greater far than the occupation of these valleys by the French.

"Besides this, where was the market for the immense quantity of petroleum that must have been produced from these excavations, on the supposition that they were constructed by the French? Surely not in Canada or France, for neither in the misty traditions nor early records of that time do we find reference to any large quantity of this product; nor had they the facilities for conveying it to the seaboard had there been a demand for it at home.

"Another theory that has been somewhat popular is, that these pits are due to the labors of the American Indians. But the very term labor seems absurd when used in reference to these lords of the forest. They never employed themselves in manual labor of any kind. They scorned it as unworthy of their dignity and

independence. . . . They had no implements in their possession when first known to the civilized world, either for excavating or for cribbing the work when excavated, and it is preposterous to suppose that their civilization was of a higher type, or their knowledge of the arts more extensive at any former period of their history.

"Beyond all doubt the Indians were well acquainted with the existence and many of the properties of petroleum. That they valued it is beyond a question. They used it both for medicinal and for toilet purposes. But they knew of its existence and production just as the earlier white settlers did; they found it bubbling up from the bed of the stream, and from the marshy places along its banks. They no doubt collected it in small quantities, without labor and without much forethought, and with this small supply were content. The surface oil would more than answer all their purposes. . . .

"There are men still living in the oil valley who were on terms of familiar intimacy with Complanter,† a celebrated chief of the Senecas, and who was living at the time of the French occupation of the country. . . . For nearly a century he had had intercourse with the chiefs and braves of different tribes, and was well versed in their traditionary lore; but in reciting his own deeds and memories, and those of his fathers who had gone to the silent hunting-grounds of the spirit land, he could say nothing of the early oil operations, any further than the collection of it in small quantities for medicinal or

* In what I quote here from '*Petrolia*,' I follow Professor Carll in the Geological Survey, '*Oil and Gas Region*,' Chapter I. I regret that want of space obliges me to contract Mr. Eaton's discussion even more than Mr. Carll has done.

† Complanter was born about 1735. About the year 1790 he settled on the bank of the Allegheny river, fourteen miles above the town of Warren, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1836.

ornamental purposes. Of French operations on Oil creek he could say nothing, and on the origin of these pits he could throw no light. This would be inexplicable on the theory that they were due either to French or Indian labor. . . .

"The only rational conclusion, therefore, at which we can arrive in regard to these early oil operations is, that they are due, not to the Indians or French or early white settlers, but to some primitive

dwellers on the soil who have long since passed away, leaving no written records to tell of their origin or their history."

Other traces of these "primitive dwellers on the soil" are, no doubt, found in the flint arrow-heads and stone hatchets that are still occasionally picked up in the famous mounds of the Ohio valley, and in the ruined temples and cities of Central America.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

II.

WE were much interested in reading 'The Scarlet Letter' in 1850, and it made a powerful impression upon our minds, which has not been effaced to this day. It was a tale of early New England life; he gave in it a graphic and satirical description of the old custom-house and its venerable inmates. This book gave him a high and wide-spread reputation. It dealt with a subject of universal interest in such a way as to command universal sympathy. "From the time 'The Scarlet Letter' was published," says his son, Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne became a sort of Mecca for pilgrims with Christian's burden on their backs. Secret criminals of all kinds came to him for counsel and relief. The letters he received from spiritual invalids would have made a strange collection. Some of them he showed to his wife, but most of them he withheld even from her, and all of them he destroyed. Had such a pilgrimage oc-

curred before he wrote the great romance, one might have thought that he had availed himself therein of the material thus afforded him. But such practical knowledge of the hidden places of the human heart comes only to those who have proved their right to it by independent spiritual intuition. Greatness is the only magnet of the materials upon which greatness is based."

Hawthorne did not think so well of this book as of his subsequent ones. But there is reason to believe that, towards the latter end of his life, he modified this opinion. It produced its effect even upon its own author when the latter first read the manuscript to his wife. When Hawthorne was writing "Rappacini's Daughter," in the 'Old Manse,' he read the as yet unfinished manuscript to his wife. "But how is it to end," she asked him when he laid down the paper. "I have no idea," was Hawthorne's reply,

with some emotion. Someone wrote that in 'The Scarlet Letter' he was undecided as to whether or not Hester and Arthur Dimmesdale were going to elope together; why should he have been at the pains of writing the story had he contemplated the possibility of the alternative catastrophe?

His next book was called 'The House of the Seven Gables.' The witch element in this romance necessitated the scene being laid in Salem, and was written in about five months. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote to her mother as follows, in regard to it: "There is unspeakable grace and beauty in the conclusion, throwing back upon the sterner tragedy of the commencement an ethereal light and a dear home loveliness and satisfaction. How you will enjoy the book—its depth of wisdom, its high tone, the flowers of paradise, the sweet wall-flower scent of Phœbe's character, the wonderful pathos and charm of old Uncle Vennor! I only wish you could have heard him sing his own song as I did." Lowell wrote him in regard to this book: "I thought I could not forgive you if you wrote anything better than 'The Scarlet Letter.' It seems to me the 'House' is the most valuable contribution to New England history that has been made."

His next book was the 'Blithedale Romance.' Hawthorne says, in the preface to this book, that he has ventured to make free with his old and affectionately made home at Brook farm as being certainly the most romantic episode of his own life. "The characters of this romance," he says, "are entirely fictitious, though the scenes of Brook farm were in good keeping with the personages whom

I desired to introduce." This he thought his best book, as did many of his friends. One says: "The best way I can describe it is to say that it opens and shuts like heat lightning. The real philanthropist, the practical reformer, the friend of the race, must be encouraged in his glorious course by reading this book." Washington Irving says: "Your writings I have regarded with admiration as among the very best ever issued from the American press."

In 1853 Hawthorne was appointed by President Pierce, his old friend and classmate at Bowdoin college, consul at Liverpool, one of the most lucrative posts in his gift. No one could go on producing such books as he had written the past three years, and he now had a rest and an opportunity to visit Europe. What can be more agreeable, if born with tastes which cannot be fully gratified in the land of your birth, than, when the bustle and struggle of life are over and your faculties and judgment are ripened, to find yourself all at once in actual contact with the things, the scenes and the people that you have so long desired to visit—such enjoyment as some of us have experienced, and I do not know but the best part of it is the anticipation and retrospect.

Hawthorne's last three novels had been published in England, and therefore he was not a stranger to the reading people there, and he was received with hospitable pleasure. During his absence from America he did not write much except his English, French and Italian journals. His books were well received in England and he met many prominent literary men. He visited, by invitation, Mr. Martin Farquhar

Tupper, and his description of his personal appearance is amusing and funny. He was received most cordially, and Tupper greeted him by saying, "Oh, great Scarlet Letter!" "I did not know what the devil to say, unless it were, 'Oh, wondrous man of proverbs! Oh, wiser than Solomon!' Before we reached the gate he had asked me who I meant by Zenobia, in the 'Blithedale Romance,' and whether I had drawn my own character in Miles Coverdale, and whether there really was a tombstone in Boston with the letter A upon it—very posing questions, all of them. I liked him, and laughed in my sleeve at him, and was utterly weary of him, for he is certainly the ass of asses—not but that he is a writer of great strength and power, for surely 'The Crock of Gold' is a very powerful tale. His wife and seven children are very kind people, and I heartily wish them well."

He visited France, Spain, Switzerland and Italy. He wrote the 'Italian Note-Books' and the 'Romance of Monte Beni,' which is perhaps the most widely read of all of Hawthorne's works. It was during his visit to Rome that he saw, in the church of the Capuchins, the dead monk, which figures so impressively in 'The Marble Faun.' He said: "We soon came away and left him lying there—a sight which I shall never forget."

While in Rome, Hawthorne went on laboring and meditating on 'The Marble Faun.' "I find the Italian air," he said in a letter from Florence, "not favorable to the close toil of composition, although it is a very good air to dream in, but I must breathe the fogs of old England or the east winds of Massachusetts in order to

put me into working trim;" and he finished 'The Marble Faun' on the broad and dreary sands of Redcar, England, "with the gray German ocean tumbling in upon me and the northern blasts always howling in my ears. 'The complete change of scene made these Italian reminiscences shine out so vividly that I could not find it in my heart to cancel them.'" Italy, as the site of his romance, was chiefly valuable to him as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct where actualities would not be so terribly insisted upon as they are, and must needs be, in America. No author without a trial can conceive the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace property in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land. It will be very long, I trust, before romance writers may find congenial and easily handled themes, either in the annals of our stalwart Republic or in any characteristic and probable event of our individual lives. Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens and wall-flowers need ruin to make them grow.

John Lothrop Motley was in Rome with him at the time he was at work upon 'The Marble Faun,' and he occasionally desecrated upon it to him. Motley wrote him after it was published: "Everything that you have ever written, I believe, I have read many times; but the 'Romance of Monte Beni' has the additional charm for me, that it is the first book of yours that I have read since I had the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance. My memory goes back to those walks (alas, not too

frequent) we used to take along the Tiber or in the Campagna. Your book has been criticised somewhat. I like those shadowy, weird, fantastic, Hawthornesque shapes flitting through the golden gloom which is the atmosphere of the book. I suppose that nothing less than an illustrated edition, with a large gallows on the last page with Donatello in the most pensile of attitudes—his ears revealed through a white night-cap—would be satisfactory.” The ‘Romance of Monte Beni, or Marble Faun,’ was finished in 1860.

After an absence of six years, he returned to America in June, 1860. Ellery Channing wrote him: “I was greatly pleased with the success of your last book, ‘The Marble Faun,’ and greatly enjoyed the Italian criticism. I should be ashamed to tell you how often I have read ‘The Marble Faun’ or the ‘Blithedale Romance.’ The latter is, I think, of all your pieces, the one I like best.”

After his return to America he was busily engaged in writing various books, but his health began to fail, and after a lingering illness, Nathaniel Hawthorne died suddenly, at the age of sixty, while on a visit for his health, with his old friend ex-President Pierce, to the White mountains, in May, 1864, mourned by a large number of friends. At the gates of the cemetery, at his funeral, stood on either side of the path, Longfellow, Agassiz, Holmes, Whittier, Alcott, Lowell, Pierce, Emerson and others; and as the carriage passed between them, they uncovered their heads in honor of Hawthorne’s widow. His unfinished book, ‘The Dolliver Romance,’ was laid on his coffin.

Bayard Taylor writes to his friend,

James T. Field, “I am shocked to hear an hour ago that we have lost Hawthorne. Good God! are all the choice spirits leaving us? I don’t think I wrote you how much I felt his sudden taking away, how cordially I liked and respected him; and I feel the edges of the gap he has left reaching over to myself. Our pride, the matchless master gone! What shall we do without him? Who can ever hope to fill his place? When such a man dies, I feel as if I should like to sit down in a lonely place and throw ashes on my head.”

Hawthorne wrote: ‘The Scarlet Letter,’ ‘The House of the Seven Gables,’ ‘Twice Told Tales,’ ‘Snow-Image,’ ‘Blithedale Romance,’ ‘Mosses From an Old Manse,’ ‘The Marble Faun,’ ‘Our Old Home,’ ‘American Note-Books,’ ‘Septimius Felton,’ ‘Fanshawe,’ ‘The Dolliver Romance,’ ‘The Wonder-Book,’ ‘Tanglewood Tales,’ etc.

No two of Hawthorne’s romances were composed in the same place. ‘The Scarlet Letter’ was written in Salem; ‘The Seven Gables’ in Lenox; the ‘Blithedale Romance’ in West Newton; ‘The Marble Faun’ in Italy and England; and the final unfinished ones, ‘Septimius Felton’ and ‘The Dolliver Romance,’ at The Wayside, in Concord.

Hawthorne was a diligent reader of the Bible; “And when sometimes,” says Fields, “I would question, in a proof-sheet, his use of a word, he would almost always refer me to the Bible as his authority. It was a great pleasure to hear him talk about the Book of Job, and his voice would be tremulous with feeling as he sometimes quoted a touching passage from the New Testament.”

Hawthorne wrote to his friend Fields, the publisher, "Did not I suggest to you last summer the publishing of the Bible in ten or twelvemo. volumes? I think it would have great success; at least (but as a publisher I suppose this is the very smallest of your cares) it would result in the salvation of a great many souls who will never find their way to heaven if they have to learn it from inconvenient editions of the Scriptures now in use. It is very singular that this form of publishing the Bible in single, bulky or closely-printed volume, should be so long continued. It was adopted, I suppose, as being the universal mode of publication at the time when the Bible was translated. Shakspeare and the other old dramatists and poets were first published in the same form; but all of them long since have broken into dozens and scores of portable and readable volumes, and why not the Bible?"

Prominent traits of Hawthorne's character were stern probity and truthfulness. The characteristics which first arrest the attention are imagination and reflection, and these are exhibited with remarkable power and activity in tales and essays, the style of which is distinguished for great simplicity and tranquillity. He is original in invention, construction and expression, always picturesque and sometimes in a high degree dramatic. Many of his favorite scenes and traditions are those of his own country, some of which he has made classical by the beautiful associations that he has thrown around them. Everything to him is suggestive, as his own pregnant pages are to the congenial reader. All his productions are life-mysteries, signifi-

cant of profound truths. His speculations, often bold and striking, are presented with singular force, but with such a quiet grace and simplicity as not to startle until they enter in and occupy the mind. The gayety with which his pensiveness is occasionally broken seems more than anything else in his words to have cost him effort. The gentle sadness, the "half-acknowledged melancholy" of his manner and reflections are more natural and characteristic. His style is studded with the most poetical imagery, and marked in every part with the happiest grace of expression, while it is calm, chaste, flowery and transparent as water.

Griswold writes: "There is a habit among nearly all the writers of imaginative literature of adulterating the conversations of the poor with barbarisms and grammatical blunders, which have no more fidelity than elegance. Hawthorne's integrity, as well as his exquisite taste, prevented him from falling into this error." Someone says, "There is not in the world a large rural population that speaks its native language with a purity approaching that with which the English is spoken by the common people of New England. The people of England and low comedians put vulgar words and phrases into the mouths of New Englanders which do them great injustice. We are glad to see a writer whose works are going down to the next ages as a representation of National manners and characteristics in all respects."

Here and there idle gossips have hinted of skeletons in the Hawthorne closets, but no one possessing any considerable acquaintance with Hawthorne ever gave

these hints the slightest attention. Hawthorne's life was as pure and transparent as his own matchless English prose style, and despite his shyness and retiring ways, he was at heart as manly as the best and he had absolutely nothing to conceal. He was one of the most truthful men of our age—as truthful as Carlyle or Lord Byron—and his life was as stainless as it was “truthful.”

When writing ‘The House of the Seven Gables’ he said, “Sometimes when tired of it, it strikes me that the whole is an absurdity from beginning to end, but the fact is, in writing a romance, one is always, or ought to be, careening on the utmost verge of an absurdity, and the skill lies in coming as close as possible without actually tumbling over.”

While in England, Hawthorne took the responsibility of publishing Miss Bacon's singular book on Shakespeare. She was much incensed at him, and broke off all correspondence with him in a storm of wrath, because he did not have any faith in her theory. It was a heavy weight for him, for he paid out of his own pocket all the expense of publication.

Mr. Bright of England, upon hearing of Hawthorne's death, wrote to his son: “I always felt that I was in a presence in which nothing that was impure, base or selfish could breathe at ease. Justice has never been done your mother; of course she was overshadowed by him, but she was a singularly accomplished woman, with a great gift of ex-

pression and a most sympathetic nature; she was, too, an artist of no mean quality. Her notes in England and Italy contain much that is valuable and much that is beautifully written.”

Mrs. Hawthorne died in England in 1871. Mr. and Mrs. Hawthorne had three children. The oldest, Una, died in an Episcopal convent, where she was engaged in works of mercy, and was buried by the side of her mother in Kensel Green cemetery, England. The other daughter, Rose, married a Mr. Lathrop of New York. One son, Julian, is a writer of growing reputation and power, and of his work, ‘Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife,’ someone said, “That no biographical work has appeared since Boswell's ‘Johnson’ of more importance and historical interest.” I was never more interested and entertained with any novel than with these two delightful volumes. The *London Times* says: “It must be admitted that upon the shoulders of Julian Hawthorne has descended, in no small degree, the mantle of his more illustrious father.” The *Academy* says: “Mr. Julian Hawthorne has more powerful imagination than any contemporary writer of fiction. He has the very uncommon gift of taking hold of the reader's attention at once, and the still more uncommon gift of maintaining his grasp when it is fixed.”

I had a correspondence with Julian Hawthorne, and have been greatly helped by him in preparing this paper.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

ASHLAND, WISCONSIN: ITS EARLY AND PRESENT DAYS.

If the reader will look at the map of the United States, he will see on its northern boundary the largest body of fresh water in the world—Lake Superior, called by the Ojibways *Kitchi Gumi*, "The Big Water." It lies between 46 and 47 degrees north latitude, and stretches east and west through eight degrees of longitude. Its coast-line is nearly two thousand miles in extent, forming some of the finest natural harbors in the world. Its surface is six hundred and thirty feet above the ocean level, while its bottom in the deepest parts is four hundred feet below the level of the tide-waters. As you come from the east end of the lake, St. Mary's river, approaching its western extremity, you will, from the deck of the steamer, notice a group of beautiful islands—the same islands which, more than two hundred years ago, met the gaze of Fathers Marquette, Allouez and Mesnard, and which, in their religious zeal, they named the "Apostles' Islands," thinking that in number they corresponded with the number of our Savior's disciples. One of these they named "Madeline," from a favorite saint of their own "Belle France," and to commemorate one of the most noted churches of Paris.

These islands in ancient times were doubtless a part of the main, as was also the land now lying under Ashland bay. Underlying them was sandstone, rising from twenty to one hundred feet above the water, and horizontal. The great gla-

ciers coming from the north, and moving in a southwest direction, cut channels in the sandstone, forming these islands, and scooping out of the solid rock the large basin which, in after years, received the name of Chaquamegon bay, and which is now known as Ashland bay. This was the first prophecy of the city of Ashland. In the times, millions of years before this, the vast deposits of iron ore had been upheaved and stored along the south shore of the lake, to subserve the designs of the Mighty Builder in the development of that commerce of which we now see but the earliest dawn, and of whose future extent we can form but a faint comprehension. Chaquamegon, Le Anse and Marquette bays are the natural outlets on Lake Superior for the rich mineral deposits which line its southern shore.

The formation of Ashland bay was therefore not accidental, but in harmony with Eternal plans. It is protected from the storms of the lake by a long, low, sandy point, and also by the Apostles' islands. Into it open from the lake three broad channels, with a depth of water ample for the largest vessels, called the North, Middle and South channels. Under these islands, vessels coming from the wild storms of the open lake are secure. It is the sailor's haven of safety.

The first settlement on the bay was made by the American Fur company in the early part of the present century, on

the beautiful Madeline island, and named La Pointe. It continued for many years the headquarters of a flourishing fur and fishing trade. About 1830 a Protestant and, soon after, a Catholic mission were established there, and churches built by them, in which devoted missionaries labored to Christianize and civilize the Indians whose homes were here and in the surrounding country. Here toiled Rev. Sherman Hall, a missionary of the American board, and Rev. L. H. Wheeler, and also that devoted man, now known to us as Bishop Baraga. These have all passed away. La Pointe, then the most populous and active village on the lake, is now, alas, "The deserted village," and is visited alone in veneration of its past memories.

On the west shore of the bay, opposite La Pointe, is the beautiful town of Bayfield, founded by Honorable Henry M. Rice in 1856. It is the terminus of the C., St. P., M. & O. railroad and the headquarters of a flourishing fish and lumber trade, and one of the most charming summer resorts on the lake.

On the west shore of the bay is also the flourishing town of Washburn—named in honor of Wisconsin's governor, Cadwalader C. Washburn. It is the favorite town of the Omaha railroad, and has several large saw-mills, and is an active and enterprising town.

The first settlement on the spot where Ashland now stands was made, in 1854, by Asaph Whittlesey and George Kilborn, both natives of the Western Reserve, Ohio. The lands were not as yet surveyed, so that they could not pre-empt them, and there was as yet no Homestead law. For this reason they,

with Martin Beaser, then living in Ontonagon, Michigan, laid claim, under the "Town Site" law, to about three hundred acres, embracing their log houses and small clearing. They platted this into town lots in 1855, and subsequently were allowed to enter their lands as claimed, and in due course received their title. In February, 1855, Edwin Ellis, a graduate in medicine, in the University of the City of New York, of the class of 1846, came on foot through the woods from St. Paul to the bay. He had been engaged in the practice of his profession in his native state—Maine—till 1854, when, attracted by the prospect of wider fields for enterprise in the new west, and by the advice of Judge D. A. J. Baker, his brother-in-law, then living in St. Paul, he came to Minnesota.

The years 1853 to 1857 were years of wild speculation. The states of Wisconsin and Minnesota especially were covered with rising cities—at least on paper. Fabulous stories of rich silver, copper and iron mines on the south shore of Lake Superior attracted a multitude of active young men from the eastern states. The city of Superior had been laid out, and its lots were selling for fabulous prices. The penniless young man of to-day became the millionaire to-morrow. The consequent excitement was great, and in the event demoralizing.

The Bay of Ashland, stretching far inland, the known vast deposits of iron near the Penokee Gap, whose natural route to market was evidently by Chaquamegon bay, indicated with moral certainty that at its head would rise a commercial mart which should command a wide extent of

country. The vast forests of pine were then hardly thought of, and no efforts made to obtain them. The lands were unsurveyed, and all the "squatters" were, in the eye of the law, trespassers. Nevertheless, the new-comers ran "spotted" lines around their claims and built log-cabins to hold them, and began to clear up the land. In June, 1855, Dr. Ellis went on foot to St. Paul, and thence to Dubuque, Iowa, and secured from the surveyor-general an order to survey four townships about the bay, embracing the site of the present city of Ashland. In the meantime, many settlers had come in and preëmpted lands in the neighborhood. In the fall of 1855 many of them were enabled to prove up and get titles to their lands.

In the winter of 1855 Lusk, Prentice & Company, who had a trading-post within the present limits of Ellis' division of Ashland, built a dock for the accommodation of the settlers coming to the new town. It was built of cribs, made of round logs sunk in the water about twenty feet apart. From one crib to another were stringers, made of logs, flattened on the upper surface, all covered with small logs to make a roadway. On the docks were piled several hundred cords of wood for the purpose of "holding" the dock from floating away, and to be sold in the summer to the steamboats which should come to bring supplies and begin the commerce of the town. The evening of the second day of April, 1855, saw the bay full of ice, slightly detached for a few feet from the shore, but with no sign of an immediate opening of navigation.

The next morning no ice was in sight, nor

a vestige of the dock to be seen. Floating timber and cord-wood covered the bay. Till then the settlers had no idea of the power of the floating ice moved by the tide of the bay. But they were not discouraged. The following winter two other docks were constructed—one by Martin Beaser, at the foot of what is now called "Beaser Avenue," and the other by Edwin Ellis, near where Seyler's foundry now stands.

These were also crib-docks, but the effort was made to anchor the cribs. There were no rocks to be had on the side of the bay where the docks were built, for which reason Mr. Beaser filled his cribs with clay, dug out of the banks. Dr. Ellis hauled stone across the bay, and filled as many of his cribs as possible, and on the top of the dock also piled several hundred cords of wood, and the settlers with anxious faces watched the departure of the ice. The shock came, and the docks afforded little resistance. The cribs filled with clay were easily carried. Those filled with stone stood better, but that part of those above water, and near the outer end, were swept away. The labors of many weary days and much money was thus swept away. There was, however, enough of the Ellis dock left to afford a landing to the few boats that came with supplies for the people.

During the years 1855, '56 and '57 many settlers had come to Ashland and built homes, and were all young men full of bright hopes for the future. In the spring of 1856 a township organization was formed, embracing more than forty townships of six miles square, and was called Bayport. The usual township

officers were elected. The year 1857 opened with bright prospects. In Ashland streets were cleared and several frame houses were built. A steam saw-mill was begun and brought near completion. But in September of that year the great financial storm came, involving the whole country in ruin. The little village of Ashland was overwhelmed. The people had but little money, and in making their improvements had contracted debts which they could not at once pay. There had been so much speculation that the settlers had paid but little attention to the cultivation of the soil, depending upon supplies brought by water a thousand miles. We had no wagon roads nor railroads within three hundred miles. Winter was coming on, and many of the settlers—in truth, all who could get away—left the place. The few who remained saw hard times, whose memory is not pleasant to recall. Some of them, in making improvements, had assumed liabilities which well-nigh ruined them. If the county had then been organized for judicial purposes, so that judgments and execution could have been easily obtained, scarcely anyone would have saved a dollar from the wreck. But this fortunate circumstance gave them time, and their debts were finally paid, and they had their land left; but it then was without value in the market. Town lots in the village, which are now selling for five thousand to six thousand dollars, could then be sold for enough to buy a barrel of flour. The years following “’57” were hard years, and the settlers, one by one, moved away, so that in 1862 only two remained—Martin Beaser and Martin Roehn. In 1866 Mr. Beaser undertook

to come alone from Bayfield to Ashland in an open sail-boat. It was a stormy day, and he never reached home. His boat was found soon afterwards at the head of the bay, and his body was found the following spring on the beach on the west side of the bay. Ashland was now left desolate and alone. Mr. Roehn, with a few cows, migrated backward and forward between Ashland and the Marengo river, finding hay and pasture for his cows, selling his produce and butter at Bayfield and La Pointe, and thus eked out an existence. The first railroad to reach Ashland was the Wisconsin Central, completed in 1877, connecting Ashland with Milwaukee. Work at the Ashland end was begun in 1872, and in 1873 finished to Penokee, twenty-nine miles south from Ashland. It had been built from the south to within about eighty-five miles of Ashland, and then came the panic of 1873, and all work stopped. The building in 1872 in Ashland was quite extensive, and village property sold at good prices, and everybody was hopeful. But the crisis of 1873 coming on, all enterprises at once stopped. Not till 1877 was the railroad completed. Its completion established Ashland on a substantial basis. In 1877 the Wisconsin Central company completed the Chaquamegon hotel, one of the finest in the country, which has added greatly to the attractions of Ashland.

The building of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha road to this place, in 1883, gave a short outlet to the west and southwest, greatly benefiting the lumber trade.

The Northern Pacific, whose eastern terminus is at Ashland, soon after com-

pleted, gave it new importance as in the direct line of transcontinental commerce.

But the advent of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western railroad has done more, perhaps, to stimulate the growth of Ashland than any one of its great enterprises.

It runs northerly from Milwaukee along the shore of Lake Michigan to Manitowoc, where, turning in northwesterly course, it traverses vast tracts of valuable timber and farming lands, running for fifty miles along the Gogebic range—the richest iron region in the world.

This company has built two large and costly ore docks for the shipment of the vast amount of iron ore which it brings over its road.

The Wisconsin Central Railroad company has also built a very fine ore dock, over which it ships the iron brought from the same range by its own line—the “Penokee Railroad”—built easterly along the northern base of the Gogebic range to Bessemer, in Michigan.

Notwithstanding the depression in the iron trade, more than a million tons of ore will be shipped from Ashland the present season.

Ashland has also two coal docks—one operated by the Ohio Coal company and the other by the Columbus & Hocking Valley Coal company—both of whom are doing a large business. The Lake Shore railroad and the Wisconsin Central obtain their coal for their engines, on the northern two hundred miles, by their docks at Ashland. The same rates for coal going west prevail as from Duluth and Washburn, and a large trade is springing up over the Omaha & Northern Pacific lines.

Ashland has three National and one

private bank, all of which are conservative and carefully managed. It has also a street railway, two miles in length, with six fine cars and about forty horses, and is rendering very satisfactory service. We have also a “Gas and Electric Light Plant,” which affords abundant light for the streets, stores, dwellings and the ore docks. Ashland has also the Holly system of water-works, with about two miles of pipe laid, affording ample protection against fire and an abundant supply of water for domestic purposes. The pump-house has two ponderous engines, one being kept in reserve in case of accident.

As a point for the distribution of manufactured goods of all kinds, Ashland stands among the foremost. With practically the same rates as by the roads leading from Duluth west, it is prepared to compete with that lively town for a part of the trade of the great northwest—now in its infancy but destined soon to attain great proportions; whose beginnings we can measure, but whose vast results we cannot now comprehend.

One industry on Ashland bay is the brown stone, which exists along the water's edge for many miles on the shore of the mainland and on the islands. It can be quarried in inexhaustible quantities within a few hundred feet of navigable waters of Lake Superior. It is of fine texture and beautiful color, and hardens by exposure. Large quantities have already been shipped and the demand is rapidly increasing. It can be shipped by rail at about four dollars per ton to Cincinnati. This stone, used for trimmings in buildings built of white brick, makes a very beautiful appearance.



S S Vaughan

The vast quantities of pine and hardwood timber in the vicinity of Ashland, and its advantages as a point of distribution for manufactured articles in wood, render it one of the best locations for manufacturing industries. For tanneries its location is unrivaled; the supply of hemlock bark is ample, while hides can be cheaply brought from Minnesota and the northwest, and the products can be shipped in all directions at low rates.

The schools of Ashland afford the best of opportunities for the education of our youth. Our school buildings are large, new and commodious, with all modern improvements. Our schools are graded and the attendance is large.

In the churches, most denominations are represented. The Catholic is the finest church edifice in the city, built of our own brown stone at a cost of over thirty thousand dollars. There are Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran and several Scandinavian churches.

As a summer resort, Ashland and the Apostles' islands afford unrivaled attractions. Sail-boats, tugs and steamboats make daily excursions in all directions. The busy men from Chicago, St. Louis,

St. Paul, Cincinnati and other cities can, in one day, escape from the sweltering heat and sleep on the cool ore of Lake Superior, and with our lines of railroad and telegraph stretching in all directions, they can be in constant and instant communication with their counting-rooms a thousand miles away. Its advantages in this line are already drawing many persons of wealth and leisure, as well as invalids, who come here to spend the hot season and at the close of the summer return home with new health and vigor.

Ashland has two daily and three weekly newspapers, models of enterprise and very newsy, contributing much to the prosperity of the city.

The population of Ashland is about fifteen thousand, composed principally of persons under thirty-five years of age, and full of push and activity, who have come to stay and build up fortunes.

With all these and many other advantages Ashland seems to have a bright future, and many of us think it bids fair, in the near future, to become the second city in the state of Wisconsin. And we will labor that she shall be worthy of her rank.

EDWIN ELLIS.

SAMUEL STEWART VAUGHN.

Of the pioneers upon the southern shores of Lake Superior, none stand higher in the memory of those now living there than Samuel Stewart Vaughn. He was born at Berea, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, on the second of September, 1830. His parents were Ephraim

Vaughn and Eunice Stewart Vaughn. Samuel was the youngest in a family of five children—two daughters and three sons. Although at a very early age possessed of a great desire for an education, he was, to a large extent, denied the advantages of schools, owing to the

fact that his father was in straitened circumstances financially. It is related of the boy Samuel that he picked up chestnuts at one time, and took them into Cleveland, where he disposed of them to purchase a geography he wanted. Three months was the whole extent of his time passed in the common schools of his native place—surely a brief period, and one sorely regretted for its brevity by a boy who, even then, hungered and thirsted for knowledge.

In 1849 the young man came to Eagle River, Michigan, where he engaged himself to his brother as clerk. He remained there until 1852, when the brothers removed to La Pointe, Wisconsin, reaching that place on the fourth of August. He now opened a store, and engaged in trading with the Indians and fishermen of the island and surrounding country. La Pointe was then the county-seat of a county of the same name in Wisconsin, and a place of considerable importance, though its glory has since departed.

Young Vaughn spoke the French and Chippewa languages fluently. This accomplishment was absolutely necessary, in the early days of this region of country, to make a man successful as a trader. He was very fond of reading, particularly works of history, and through all his pioneer life his books were his loved companions. His taste was not for worthless books, but for those of an improving character; hence he received a large amount of benefit from his silent teachers.

In his relations with the Indians, which, owing to the nature of his busi-

ness, were quite intimate, Mr. Vaughn commanded their fullest confidence. It is related that when at one time there were rumors of trouble between the white people and the Chippewas, and many of the settlers became frightened and feared they would be murdered by the natives, a delegation of chiefs came to him and said they wanted to have a talk. They said they had heard of the fears of the whites, but assured him there was nothing to be afraid of; the Indians would do no harm, "for," said they, "we know that the soldiers of the white man are like the sands of the sea in numbers, and if we make any trouble they will come and overpower us." Mr. Vaughn was abundantly satisfied of their sincerity as well as of their peaceful disposition, and he soon quieted the fears of the settlers.

"Being impressed," says a writer who knew him well, "with the future possibilities of this country and ambitious, to use a favorite expression of his own, to become 'a man among men,' he recognized the disadvantage under which he labored from the limited educational advantages he had enjoyed in his youth, and his first earnings were devoted to remedying his deficiency in this respect. Closing his business at La Pointe, he returned to his native state, where a year was spent in preparatory studies, which were pursued with a full realization of their importance to his future career. He spent several months in Cleveland acquiring a 'business education.' He became a systematic book-keeper, careful in his transactions and persevering in his plans. Having de-

voted as much time to the special course of instruction marked out by him as his limited means would afford, he returned to La Pointe, at that time the only white settlement in all this region, where he remained until 1856.*

Mr. Vaughn, during the year just named, removed to Bayfield, the town site having been previously surveyed and platted. It was opposite La Pointe on the mainland, and is now the county-seat of Bayfield county, Wisconsin. There he erected the first stone building,† built also a saw-mill, and engaged in the sale of general merchandise and in the manufacture of lumber. "In his characteristic manner," says the writer just quoted, "of doing with all his might whatever his hands found to do, he at once took a leading position in all matters of private and public interest which go to the building up of a prosperous community."

Mr. Vaughn built what is known as Vaughn's dock in Bayfield, and remained in that town until 1872. Meanwhile, he was married in Solon, Ohio, to Emeline Eliza Patrick. This event took place on the twenty-second of December, 1864. After spending a few months among friends in Ohio, he brought his wife west to share his frontier life. The wedding journey was made in February, 1865, the two going first to St. Paul; thence they journeyed to Bayfield by sleigh, "partly over logging roads, and partly over no road." It was a novel experience to the bride,

but one which she had no desire to shrink from. She was not the wife to be made unhappy by ordinary difficulties.

As early as the twenty-fifth of October, 1856, Mr. Vaughn had preëmpted one hundred and sixty acres of land, afterwards known as "Vaughn's division of Ashland." He was one of the leading spirits in the projection of the old St. Croix & Lake Superior railroad, and contributed liberally of his time and money in making the preliminary organizations and surveys. Being convinced, from the natural location of Ashland, that it would become in the future a place of importance, was the reason which induced him to preëempt the land there, of which mention has just been made.

As may be presumed, Mr. Vaughn omitted no opportunity of calling the attention of capitalists to the necessity of railroad facilities for northern Wisconsin. He became identified with the early enterprises organized for the purpose of building a trunk line from the southern and central portions of the state to Lake Superior, and was for many years a director in the old "Winnebago & Lake Superior" and "Portage & Lake Superior" Railroad companies, which, after many trials and tribulations, were consolidated, resulting in the building of the pioneer road—the Wisconsin Central.

In 1871, upon the completion of the survey of the Wisconsin Central railroad, he proceeded to lay out his portion of the town of Ashland, and made arrangements for the transfer of his busi-

* Samuel S. Fifield, in the *Ashland Press* of February 6, 1886.

† This was the second house in the place.

ness thither from Bayfield. During the next year he made extensive improvements in his new home; these included the building of a residence, the erection of a store, also (in company with Mr. Charles Fisher) of a commercial dock. The Wisconsin Central railroad had begun work at the bay (Chaquamegon); and, at this time, many settlers were coming in. In the fall he moved into his new house, becoming, with his wife, a permanent resident of Ashland.

Mr. Vaughn and his partner just named received at their dock large quantities of merchandise by lake, and they took heavy contracts to furnish supplies to the railroad before mentioned. In the fall of 1872 they established branch stores at Silver creek and White river to furnish railroad men with supplies. They also had contracts to get out all the ties used by the railroad between Ashland and Penoque. In 1875 the firm was dissolved, and Mr. Vaughn continued in business until 1881, when he sold out, but continued to handle coal and other merchandise at his dock. In the winter previous he put in 10,000,000 feet of logs.

Mr. Vaughn represented the counties of Ashland, Barren, Bayfield, Burnett, Douglas and Polk in the thirty-fourth regular session of the Wisconsin legislature, being a member of the assembly for the year 1871. These counties, according to the Federal census of the year previous, contained a population of 6,365. His majority in the district over Isaac I. Moore, Democrat, was 398. Mr. Vaughn was in politics a Republican. Previous to this time he had been

postmaster for four years at Bayfield. He was several times called to the charge of town and county affairs as chairman of the board of supervisors, and in every station was faithful, as well as equal, to his trust; but he was never ambitious for political honors. He died at his home in Ashland of pneumonia, on the twenty-ninth day of January, 1886.

Mr. Vaughn was one of the most prominent men in northern Wisconsin, and one of the wealthiest citizens of Ashland at the time of his decease. He had accumulated a large amount of real estate in Ashland and Bayfield, and held heavy iron interests in the Gogebic district; but, at the same time, he was a man of charitable nature, being a member of several charitable orders and societies. He was a member of Ashland Lodge, I. O. O. F., and one of its foremost promoters and supporters. Mr. Vaughn was also a Mason, being a member of Wisconsin Consistory, Chipewa Commandery, K. T., Ashland Chapter, R. A. M., and Ancient Landmark Lodge, F. and A. M.

Although an unostentatious man, Mr. Vaughn was possessed of much public spirit, and the remark has been common in Ashland since his death, by those who knew him best, that the city had lost its best man. Certain it is that he was possessed of great enterprise, and was always ready with his means to help forward any scheme that he saw would benefit the community in which he lived. It had long been one of his settled determinations to appropriate part of his wealth to the establishment



Edwin Ellis

of a free library in Ashland. So it was that before his death the site had been chosen by him for the building, and a plan of the institution formulated in his mind, intending soon to make a reality of his day-dreams concerning this undertaking; but death cut short his plans.

It is needless to say to those who know to whom was confided the whole subject of the "Vaughn Library," that it has not been allowed to die out. In his will Mr. Vaughn left all his property to his wife, and she nobly came forward to make his known desires with regard to the institution a fixed fact. The corner-stone of the building for the library was laid, with imposing ceremonies, on the fourteenth of July, 1887, and a large number of books will soon be purchased to fill the shelves now nearly ready for them. It will be, in the broadest sense, a public library—free to all; and will surely become a lasting and proud monument to its generous founder, Samuel Stewart Vaughn.

She who was left to carry out the

noble schemes planned by the subject of this sketch, now the wife of the Rev. Angus Mackinnon, deserves particular mention in this connection. She is a lady of marked characteristics, all of which go to her praise. Soon after reaching her home in the west she taught some of the Bâýfield Indians to read and write; and from that time to the present, has proved herself in many ways of sterling worth to northern Wisconsin. "Years ago, when Ashland consisted of a few log houses and a half dozen stores—before there was even a trail through the woods that lead to civilization many miles away—this lady was a member of 'Literary,' organized by a half-dozen progressive young people; and in a paper which she then read on 'The Future of Ashland,' she predicted nearly everything about the growth of the place that has taken place during the past few years—the development of the iron mines, railroads, iron furnaces, water-works, paved streets, and, to a dot, the present limits of its thoroughfares. She is a representative Ashland lady."

EDWIN ELLIS.

The subject of this sketch is a native of New England, and one of the "Oxford Bears," having been in Peru, Oxford county, Maine, in 1824. His birthplace was on the banks of the Androscoggin river, among the mountains, a wild, romantic place. His ancestors came early from England to the Massachusetts col-

ony, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

His maternal grandfather was in the Revolutionary army, and to the end of a long life was intensely patriotic and American in all his acts and thoughts. He bought one hundred and sixty acres of government land at the close of the War

of the Revolution, on which he lived for more than seventy years, until his death. It still remains in the family. There were no roads in his neighborhood, and at first he was obliged to carry his corn and wheat to mill, for more than thirty miles, upon his shoulders and by a "spotted line." He lived to break the ground for a railroad to his town and to see its completion.

Dr. Ellis received his early education in the New England common school, whose term was not more than three months in the year. At the age of fourteen years he began the study of Latin at home, going for occasional recitations to one of the celebrated Abbot family, who was a farmer in the town, some four miles distant. He was inclined to study the law, but his mother, who was a most conscientious woman, thought an honest lawyer could not live by his calling, often repeating to him this couplet—

"If I turn lawyer, I must lie and cheat,
For honest lawyers have no bread to eat."

This had some influence upon him, and he chose the profession of medicine. He entered Waterville college (now Coblyuniversity) in 1842, pursuing its first year's course, when he began the study of medicine, teaching school in winter to raise money enough to pay his expenses, in which he was cheerfully assisted by his father to the extent of his means, which were very limited, he being a house carpenter and receiving the usual wages of those days of one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents per day.

Edwin Ellis graduated in medicine at the University of the city of New York, in March, 1846, being nearly twenty-two

years of age. He at first settled at North New Portland, Maine. It was a frontier town, and the roads in such condition that he was obliged to travel on horseback, going sometimes forty miles in the night.

At the end of a year he settled in Farmington, Maine, where he had studied his profession, where, in 1847, he was married to Sophia S. Davis, who lived less than two years, leaving a daughter, Sophia Augusta, who married George H. Kennedy, who now lives at Ashland.

Dr. Ellis married Martha B. Baker of New Sharon, Maine, in 1850, a woman of much energy of character, and who has been a faithful and efficient wife for almost forty years. By her he has three children—Domelia, married to George C. Loranger of Calumet, Michigan; Edwin H., bookkeeper in the First National Bank of Ashland, and J. Scott, engaged in wood and coal at Ashland.

Dr. Ellis continued the practice of his profession in Maine, till 1854, with an increasing practice and fair prospects.

But the west was then attracting much attention and the tide of emigration flowing with a strong current. His wife's brother, Judge Baker of St. Paul, had been for several years in St. Paul, and his representations and inducements led him to sever his pleasant relations with the east and try his fortunes in the west. He with his family, wife and two children, reached St. Paul early in May, 1854. That year he carried on a farm where Merriam park now is, but he was not at home in this business, and abandoned it in the fall of that year.

The years 1852 to 1857 were years of great speculation throughout the north-

west. Towns and cities, at least on paper, were springing up with marvelous rapidity. Men became, or seemed to become, suddenly rich by the rapid rise of farming lands and city lots. It was an era of strange speculation, demoralizing in its effects and leading to the terrible panic of 1857.

A party of speculators had preëmpted the land where the city of Superior now is, in 1852, and as early as 1855 were selling shares in that rising city for fabulous prices. Chaquamegon bay, extending far inland from the Apostles' islands, appeared, to thoughtful persons, to be a site for a town which would command the trade of a large area of country, then without an inhabitant. Thither he, in February, 1855, with one companion, came by trail from St. Paul. On his arrival he found two families already on the spot where Ashland now lies—Asaph Whittlesey and his father-in-law, Mr. Haskell, who came in the fall preceding; while Lusk, Prentice & Co. had a trading-post and were building a dock. Mr. Whittlesey, with whom were associated Martin Beaser and George Kilborn, were then laying out what is now Beaser's Division of Ashland, which they claimed under the town site law. The township lines on the bay had been run, but no section lines. The land was not subject to entry or settlement; all were trespassers. But running from the township lines, the settlers were able to locate approximately the section lines, and built preëmption shanties for the purpose of holding the land till it should be subject to entry. In June, 1855, Dr. Ellis went through the woods to Dubuque, Iowa, to urge upon General Warner Lewis, then

surveyor-general of all the northwest, the necessity of the immediate subdivision of the towns about the bay. This met with General Lewis' approval, and he ordered it done as soon as arrangements could be made. A young civil engineer from Vermont, Augustus Barber, began the work in September, and towns 47 and 48, range 4, embracing the present city of Ashland, were surveyed and the plats returned to Washington and to the land office, at Superior, by November, 1855. The necessary declaratory statements were filed, and in the last of December several companions walked along the shore to Superior, for the purpose of proving up their claims. It was a cold, hard trip, but the actors were young and energetic. Thus was obtained from the government the first title to the soil on which Ashland now stands.

Dr. Ellis brought his family by boat from St. Paul in the fall of 1855, going down the Mississippi river from St. Paul to Dubuque, thence to Chicago and thence by the lakes, reaching La Pointe November 4, and his log-cabin on the bay a day or two later. In conjunction with his associates in St. Paul, he entered upon a system of improvements for the purpose of building up a town where Ashland now is, such as cutting out streets, building a dock, steam saw-mill, etc. But the financial storm of 1857 came and overwhelmed him in what appeared to be hopeless bankruptcy. He had incurred debts in the improvements made and his associates could not meet the drafts they had authorized him to make upon them, but by the most rigid economy and untiring industry, he, after several years,

succeeded in paying every claim. He remained at Ashland till 1861, when the War of the Rebellion coming on, the little hamlet of Ashland lost nearly all its inhabitants, and he felt compelled, in order to earn bread for his family, to leave the lake, and was preparing to do so when his staunch friend, the Rev. Leonard H. Wheeler, the missionary of the American board in charge of the Indian mission and boarding-school at Odonah, induced him to change his plans and go to Odonah and take charge of the boarding-school and farm at the mission. And here for several years he remained in this work, years which he recalls as the happiest of his life. Mr. Wheeler was a man of education and culture, a graduate of Middlebury and Andover seminary and most heartily devoted to his missionary work among the Indians. His wife was a refined and most amiable lady, and their home was indeed an oasis in the moral desert around them. In 1866 Mr. Wheeler's failing health, and his desire to afford his children better educational advantages, induced him to retire from the mission work, and the American board suspended their work there. Dr. Ellis and family went to Ontonagon, Michigan, in 1866, where he resumed his profession and also opened a small drug store. Here he remained until 1872, when the proposed building of the Wisconsin Central railroad to Ashland induced his return to his old home. He had held on to his

lands on the bay as a forlorn hope, doubtful whether they were worth the light taxes levied upon them. This land now became valuable and placed him in easy circumstances. He was able with Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Vaughn, Mr. Fifield, Colonel Knight and others to induce the building of four trunk lines of railroad to Ashland, to see numerous manufactures, a great blast-furnace, etc., three great ore docks, a busy, bustling city upon the bay, from which he had been compelled to retreat with the feeling that everything had been lost.

In 1877 he was appointed as county judge of Ashland county, by Governor Smith, to which he has been twice re-elected by his fellow-citizens. He is president of the First National Bank of Ashland. He has retired from the general practice of his profession, but is one of the surgeons of St. Joseph's hospital, which he visits an hour each day. He is still active and deeply interested in all that concerns Ashland; has aided in securing the Holly system of water-works, the gas and electric works and the street railway. He is a firm believer in the Christian religion and in a personal God, whose guiding hand he recognizes in all the events of his life, and to whom he owes everything and whom he desires to honor in all his journey of life, and is alive to all efforts designed to improve and elevate the condition of his fellow-men.

MARTIN BEASER.

On the fifth day of July, 1854, Asaph Whittlesey and George Kilborn left La

Pointe, in a row-boat, with the design of finding a "town site" on some avail-



Martin Beaser

able point near the "head of the bay." At five o'clock P. M. of the same day they landed at the westerly limit of the present town site of Ashland. As Mr. Whittlesey stepped ashore, Mr. Kilborn exclaimed, "Here is the place for a big city!" and handing his companion an axe, he added, "I want you to have the honor of cutting the first tree in the way of a settlement upon the town site." And the tree thus felled formed one of the foundation logs in the first building in the place. Such is the statement which has found its way into print as to the beginning of Ashland. But the same account adds: "Many new-comers arrived during the first few years after the settlement; among them Martin Beaser, who located permanently in Ashland in 1856, and was one of its founders."* How this was will soon be explained.

The father of the subject of this sketch, John Baptiste Beaser, was a native of Switzerland, educated as a priest, but never took orders. He came to America, reaching Philadelphia about the year 1812, where he married Margaret McLeod. They then moved to Buffalo, in one of the suburbs of which, called Williamsville, their son Martin was born, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1822. The boy received his early education in the common schools of the place, when, at the age of fourteen, he went on a whaling voyage, sailing from New Bedford, Massachusetts. His voyage lasted four years; his second voyage, three years; the last of which was made in the whaleship *Rosseau*,

which is still afloat, the oldest of its class in America.

The young man went out as boat-steerer on his second voyage, returning as third mate. During his leisure time on shipboard and the interval between the two voyages, he spent in studying the science of navigation, which he successfully mastered. On his return from his fourth years' cruise in the Pacific and Indian oceans, he was offered the position of second mate on a new ship then nearing completion and which would be ready to sail in about sixty days. He accepted the offer. They would notify him when the ship was ready, and he would in the meantime visit his mother, then a widow, residing in Buffalo. Accordingly, after an absence of seven years, he returned to his native city, spending the time in renewing old acquaintances and relating the varied experiences of a whaler's life. He had rare conversational powers, holding his listeners spell-bound at the recital of some thrilling adventure. A journal kept by him during his voyages and now in the possession of his family, abounds in hair-breadth escapes from savages on the shores of some of the South sea islands and the perils of whale-fishing, of which he had many narrow escapes. The time passed quickly, and he anxiously awaited the summons to join his ship. Leaving the city for a day the expected letter came, but was carefully concealed by his mother until after the ship had sailed, thus entirely changing the future of his life.

Disappointed in his aspirations to command a ship in the near future, as he

* See 'History of Northern Wisconsin,' p. 67.

had reason to hope from the rapid promotions he had already received—from a boy before the mast to mate of a ship in two voyages—and yielding to his mother's wish not to leave home again, he engaged in sailing on Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit until 1847, when he went in the interest of a company from the latter city to Lake Superior for the purpose of exploring the copper ranges in the northern peninsula of Michigan. He coasted from Sault Ste. Marie to Ontonagon in a bateau. Remaining in the employ of the company about a year, he then engaged in a general forwarding and commission business for himself.

Mr. Beaser was largely identified with the early mining interests of Ontonagon county, being instrumental in opening up and developing some of the best mines in that district.

In 1848 he was married in Cattaraugus county, New York, in the town of Perrysburgh, to Laura Antionette Bebee. The husband and wife the next spring went west, going to Ontonagon by way of Detroit. The trip from Buffalo lasted from the first day of May to the sixth of June, they being detained at the "Soo" two weeks on account of the changing of the schooner *Napoleon* into a propeller, in which vessel, after a voyage of six days, they reached Ontonagon.

Here Mr. Beaser resided for seven years in the same business of forwarding and commission, furnishing frequently powder and candles to the miners by the ton. He was a portion of this time associated with Thomas B.

Hanna, formerly of Ohio. They then sold out their interest—Mr. Beaser going in company with Augustus Coburn and Edward Sayles to Superior, at the head of the lake, taking a small boat with them and Indian guides. Thus equipped they explored the region of Duluth, going up the Brule and St. Louis rivers. They then returned to La Pointe, going up Chaquamegon bay; and having their attention called to the site of what is now Ashland, on account of what seemed to be its favorable geographical position. As there had been some talk of the feasibility of connecting the Mississippi river and Lake Superior by a ship canal, it was suggested to them that this point would be a good one for its eastern terminus. Another circumstance which struck them was the contiguity of the Penokee iron range. This was in 1853. The company then returned to Ontonagon.

Closing up his business at the latter place, Mr. Beaser decided to return to the bay of Chaquamegon to look up and locate the town site on its southern shore. In the summer of 1854, on arriving there, he found Mr. Whittlesey and Mr. Kilborn on the ground. He then made an arrangement with them by which he (Mr. Beaser) was to enter the land, which he did at Superior, where the land office was then located for that section. The contract between the three was, that Mr. Whittlesey and Mr. Kilborn were to receive each an eighth interest in the land, while the residue was to go to Mr. Beaser. The patent for the land was issued to Schuyler Goff, as county judge of La



John W. Knight

Pointe county, Wisconsin, who was the trustee for the three men, under the law then governing the location of town sites.

Mr. Beaser afterward got his deed from the judge to his three-quarters' interest in the site.

In January, 1854, Mr. Beaser having previously engaged a topographical engineer, G. L. Brunschweiler, the two, with a dog train and two Indians, made the journey from Ontonagon to the proposed town site, where Mr. Brunschweiler surveyed and platted* a town on the land of the men before spoken of as parties in interest, to which town Mr. Beaser gave the name of Ashland. These three men, therefore, were the founders of Ashland, although afterwards various additions were made to it.

Mr. Beaser did not bring his family to Ashland until the eighth of Septem-

ber, 1856. He engaged in the mercantile business there until the war broke out, and was drowned in the bay while attempting to come from Bayfield to Ashland in an open boat, during a storm, on the fourth of November, 1866. He was buried on Madeline island at La Pointe. He was "closely identified with enterprises tending to open up the country; was wealthy and expended freely; was a man of fine discretion and good, common sense." He was never discouraged as to Ashland's future prosperity.

The children of Mr. Beaser, three in number, are all living: Margaret Elizabeth, wife of James A. Croser of Menominee, Michigan; Percy McLeod, now of Ashland; and Harry Hamlin, also of Ashland, residing with his mother, now Mrs. Wilson, an intelligent and very estimable lady.

JOHN HENRY KNIGHT.

The grandfather of the subject of this sketch, on his father's side, was William Knight. The family of Knights from which he descended settled on the eastern shore of Maryland, or rather on the peninsula between Chesapeake and Delaware bays. He was born and raised on the Delaware side. They were amongst the pioneers of that section of the country. John Henry's father's name was James Knight. He was born in Kent

county, Delaware, in 1805. His mother's name was Rebecca Scotten. She was a descendant also from an old pioneer family of that section of the country. The name of her father was James Scotten; the name of her mother was Mary Buckingham—a descendant of the Connecticut Buckinghams. James Knight and Rebecca Scotten were married in Kent county, Delaware, in 1833.

John Henry Knight is the second child of ten children—six sons and four daughters. He was born on a farm in Kent county, Delaware, near the Maryland line, about twelve miles from Dover,

* The date of the platting of Ashland by Brunschweiler is taken from the original plat in the possession of the recorder of Ashland county, Wisconsin.

on the third day of February, 1836. His education was received at the common schools until he was sixteen years of age, going to school a portion of the time and part of the time working on the farm. Afterwards, for four years, he attended school in the state of New York—one year at Charlotteville, Schoharie county, and three years at Fairfield, Herkimer county. During the vacations he would work at home on the farm. Both of these institutions were for boys. When he left school he was twenty years of age. Subsequently, he studied law three years in the office of Honorable N. B. Smithers, at Dover, Delaware, earning his living by working and paying his own expenses. One year of that time he was at the law school at Albany, graduating there in 1859. One of his classmates in the law school at Albany was Colonel William F. Vilas, now secretary of the interior.

After the young man graduated at the law school in Albany he was examined for admission to the bar by a committee of lawyers, one of whom was Honorable William M. Everetts, and was admitted to practice in the courts of New York; he then returned to Delaware and completed his three years of study, which course was necessary under the laws of Delaware, and he was thereupon, in 1860, admitted to the bar in that state. He borrowed the money to carry him through the law school from William C. Eliason of Smyrna, Kent county, Delaware, with no other security than his own note. He now commenced to practice law in partnership with Honorable George P. Fisher, remaining at Dover until President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand three

months' men. The next day he laid aside his books and determined to respond to the call. Among his old friends and neighbors at home, this raised a very deep feeling of bitterness against him; and many young men with whom he had been on the most intimate and agreeable relations, turned against him with a bitterness and hate that were remarkable.

Mr. Knight immediately set about organizing a company for the service. He got a few from his own locality to join it, but filled it to the required number from Philadelphia and New Castle county, and was soon in the field. He had had no experience in military affairs, and he got a gentleman whom he knew, who was in the National guard at Philadelphia, to take the captaincy of the company. He went as first lieutenant. This company was afterwards Company "H" of the First Delaware three months' infantry regiment. The company served on the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, near the city of Baltimore, during the whole time of its service; but Lieutenant Knight went, during that time, to join a party going to the first battle of Bull Run, and was present at that conflict of arms. At the close of the service of his three months' regiment he was commissioned captain and assistant adjutant-general of volunteers by President Lincoln, and assigned to duty with General H. H. Lockwood. About the same time he was offered a captaincy in the regular army, which he declined. General Lockwood was assigned to duty, whilst he remained with him, on the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia, and during this time the expedition was made into

Accommack and North Hampton counties, Virginia, to break up the rebel garrison of those two counties. The Confederates were driven out and crossed over to the other side of the bay. During the time that Captain Knight served on General Lockwood's staff he was again offered a captaincy in the regular army, and declined it. In February, 1862, however, the outlook was so bad for a settlement of the difficulties that he concluded to accept the captaincy in the regular army, and did so.

In the spring of 1862 the captain applied to be sent to his regiment, the Eighteenth U. S. infantry, which was then serving at the siege of Corinth. He joined the regiment at Iuka, Mississippi, a few days after the siege was raised. His regiment was on duty with the Army of the Cumberland, which was at that time commanded by George H. Thomas, and was with that army in all its skirmishes. Captain Knight remained with it on its retreat from Mississippi and Alabama, through Tennessee and Kentucky, to Louisville, Kentucky. After the army was reinforced at Louisville and fully equipped, they started to give battle to General Bragg. They overtook him at Springfield and had a little fight with him there. A day or two after that they fought the battle of Perryville, Kentucky, in which the captain participated in command of his company.

For two or three days prior to this battle Captain Knight had typhoid symptoms coming on, and had been sent in the morning to the ambulance with a very high fever. When they were approaching the line of battle he got out and

joined his company, and went into the fight with them. He was injured by the explosion of a shell, but did not think much of it at that time ; however, the next day he was unable to move, and did not walk again for about five months. The doctor stated that his spinal nerves had been injured by the concussion from the explosion so near him, which rendered him helpless and unable to even feed himself, and he has never fully recovered from this injury. He was deranged for nearly a month immediately after that battle. That was in October, 1862, and he was not well enough to do any duty until March, 1863, when he went on duty as chief mustering officer at Louisville, Kentucky. Whilst he was laid up in this way he was married, on the nineteenth of January, 1863, at Wilmington, Delaware, to Susan James Clark, daughter of Levi G. Clark, esq.

Captain Knight remained on duty at Louisville until shortly after the battle of Chickamauga. Whilst he was on duty in Kentucky he mustered into service the ten regiments of Kentuckians who were raised under a special act of congress. Amongst them was Colonel B. H. Brantow's regiment. He had many perilous experiences during all the time he was performing this duty on account of going to different parts of the state to muster. Having finished this labor, he joined his regiment again at Chattanooga, shortly after the battle of Chickamauga. He was there on duty with his regiment during all the time they were shut up there by the rebels and until after they had fought the battle of Mission Ridge, in which he participated. This was during the time Rose-

crans was hemmed in at Chattanooga, when there was great suffering from scarcity of food. He was on picket duty on the extreme right of the Union line for three days prior to that battle, and during the fight on Lookout mountain his regiment supported Hooker on the left. The position of his brigade in the line of battle at Mission Ridge was in the centre, facing the ridge from Chattanooga in a direct line to Bragg's headquarters. Sherman's army was on the left.

There is one circumstance connected with that battle that is little known. After his regiment had reached the top of the ridge they discovered a body of Confederate mounted men down on their right, cut off from their main army. It proved to be General John C. Breckinridge and his body-guard, who undertook to run by them; but they opened fire on them and unsaddled quite a number, taking the general's son prisoner.

Before this battle it had become apparent that Captain Knight could not march with his regiment; that, in fact, he was really unfitted for service. His health was very much broken down; and without his knowledge the officers of his regiment had reported it to the war department. The next day after the battle of Mission Ridge, while his regiment were drawn up at Ringgold, Georgia, where the enemy had made a stand, he received orders to proceed to Detroit, Michigan, for duty in the office of assistant to the provost marshal-general of that state and chief mustering and disbursing officer. In 1863 the captain was appointed colonel of the First Delaware cavalry regiment by the governor of that

state, but he was not permitted to join it, because it had become so reduced in numbers that the secretary of war declined his frequent applications for so doing.

Captain Knight arrived at Detroit, Michigan, in January, 1864, and reported to General Hill, who was the officer in command, and he assigned him to duty as the superintendent of recruiting service of the Michigan regiments, and he had charge of the reorganization of all of the veteran regiments of Michigan and final discharge of all of them. All matters connected with the refilling of the regiment were under his supervision. Shortly after he entered on duty in Detroit he was appointed to succeed General Hill in the entire charge of the business of drafting and recruiting, as assistant provost marshal-general, and remained on duty there until February, 1867, when he was ordered to report to his regiment in the regular army.

The new infantry regiments which were added to the regular army during the war were regiments of three battalions of eight companies each. The captain was in the Second battalion of the Eighteenth infantry. After the war closed these regiments were broken up and each regiment made into three regiments of ten companies and new numbers given to them, so that when he rejoined his regiment in 1867, he belonged to the Thirty-sixth United States infantry. That regiment was then doing duty in Wyoming and Utah territories, guarding the engineering parties who were locating the line of the Union Pacific railroad. He had charge of about four hundred miles of this line, which lay between a point about two hun-

dred miles west of the present town of Laramie City, on the Union Pacific line, and Fort Bridger. He made his headquarters in the western mouth of Bridger's pass of the Rocky mountains, and had command of that line and the troops which were guarding these locating parties of railroad engineers.

During the winter of 1868 and 1869 he was stationed at Camp Douglas, Salt Lake City, and was the next officer in rank to the commanding officer of the post. There had been a law passed during the session of congress in 1868 reducing the army. This law permitted the adjutant-general to select from the army such officers as he thought were the best in the service. The others were either to be retired or discharged, as was right and fair. Captain Knight was one of those selected by the adjutant-general to remain, and was assigned to the First infantry. Under the provisions of this law an officer could apply to be placed upon the supernumerary list and draw his pay for two years, and at the end of that time be discharged from the service.

The captain took advantage of this law for the purpose of getting into business. He went to Washington in the spring of 1869, and saw General Grant in respect to some civil appointment, and he persuaded him, on account of his health, to take an assignment of duty at the Indian agency of the Lake Superior Chippewas, the President having adopted the policy of detailing army officers for performing the duty of Indian agencies. As already intimated, Captain Knight had lost his health during the war, and it had not been restored, which General Grant knew very

well, and he offered to give him some foreign appointment, where he thought his health would be benefited by the climate. Whilst the captain was trying to hunt up a place where his health would recover, as he thought, the President suggested to him, through General Dent, to try a northern climate. The attractions which had been created by the advertisements of J. Cook & Company of the country which the Northern Pacific railroad was going to traverse, had somewhat fascinated him, and he finally concluded to go north, and was detailed to do the duties of an Indian agent to the Chippewas. That was how he came up to Bayfield, Wisconsin. He landed there on June 30, 1869, and has been in this country ever since.

There were very few soldiers who were broken down in their health more than Captain Knight was. He came to Bayfield and did the duties of Indian agent for nearly a year, and improved so much in health in this climate that he concluded to remain, and in 1870 he sent in his resignation as captain and started out for himself. He was breveted major and lieutenant-colonel in the regular army for faithful and meritorious service during the war. He then bought some law books and studied law again. He speculated in real estate and made some good investments, and concluded that he could make money in the rising values of property, and by getting back into his profession, he could make a living. About the time Jay Cooke failed and the crash came on, he accepted the office of register of the land office at Bayfield, in the latter part of 1872, at the request of C. C. Washburn, who was then member of congress from Wisconsin. Mr.

Washburn had had some difficulty in deciding between several applicants, and he solicited him to take the office. He remained in that office until about the year 1879, but was nominally register until some time in 1880.

Colonel Knight commenced business in Ashland in 1878, but did not move there until the year 1880. He organized the Superior Lumber company in 1880 and commenced business in 1881. That was the beginning of the prosperity of Ashland, and really the commencement of the start, under which it is now progressing. It was the beginning of the growth of Ashland from a village of about eight hundred inhabitants to a city of fifteen thousand, at the present time. The company is one of large wealth. In fact, it has a property valuation of fully three-quarters of a million of dollars. The colonel has been actively interested in almost every enterprise that has been since located at Ashland—the Ashland National bank, First National bank, the Ashland Brown Stone company, director

of the Street railway; and he has largely contributed to the bonus of the blast furnace. He was local attorney for the Wisconsin Central railroad for a number of years. He has been twice elected as Democratic mayor in a Republican city.

Colonel Knight's first wife died on the twenty-ninth of June, 1867, at Wilmington, Delaware. There was one child by that marriage, Eugenia Bradford Knight, who is now the wife of Leslie B. Rowley. On June 2, 1873, he was married again to Ella B. Clark, a sister of his first wife. They have five children, four girls and one boy: Susan Bouldin, Clark Miles, Mary Emelen, Elizabeth Clark and Rebecca Scotten. There is no more public-spirited man in northern Wisconsin than the subject of this sketch. Shrewd and upright in business matters, it is not a wonder that he has amassed considerable wealth. What he particularly desires in a public way is the prosperity of Ashland; and the citizens of that city duly appreciate his honesty and merit.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

THOMAS BARDON.

THE father of Thomas Bardon was a native of Wexford, Ireland. His name is Richard Bardon. He is still living—a resident of Superior, Wisconsin, and county judge of Douglas county. The wife (the mother of Thomas) was Mary Roche, also of Wexford, Ireland. They were married in the city of Wexford, emigrating to the United States in 1844. Both grandfathers took part in the Rebellion of 1798.

Thomas is the second child of a family of seven children—three brothers and four sisters. James, the eldest, is a resident of Superior, a prominent banker and business man, and John A., the youngest, is postmaster in the same place.

Thomas was born in Maysville, Kentucky, October 22, 1848. His early education was in the common schools there and in Superior, where his parents moved in 1857.



Thomas Gordon

In 1867 he went out on the preliminary survey of the Northern Pacific railroad in the engineering corps. In July, 1868, he went to Ashland (then having but one resident—Martin Roehm). He was still in the employ of the Northern Pacific. He was there and in the vicinity about a month. Mr. Roehm occupied one of the buildings in the place that had previously been deserted, while some of the other buildings were used by him to shelter his cattle. From Ashland, Thomas went to Fort Abercrombie, Red river, on the same business. He has traveled over all the region from Lake Superior to the Red and Missouri rivers on several occasions—walking the entire distance—in the employment, mostly, of the Northern Pacific, during the years 1867–8–9–70 and '71. In the winter he traveled on snow-shoes, with Indian dog trains.

In 1871 he was offered a responsible position in the management of the land department of the Northern Pacific railroad, which was then being organized; but he did not accept. He concluded to sever his connection with the company and go to Ashland to live. He went thither June 1, 1872, engaging at once in the real estate business—teaching school there in the winter of 1872–3, Ashland having started up in the winter of 1871–2. This business (real estate) he has continued to the present time, but has gone out of the commission business, simply attending to his own large landed property interests.

He was married on the fifth day of November, 1884, to Jennie Grant of Winoona, Minnesota. The wedding took place there. Of this marriage there is one child—a daughter—Belle.

Mr. Bardon is president of the Ashland National bank, the oldest in the city; director in the First National bank; treasurer of the Ashland Lighting company, and treasurer of the Ashland Street Railway company, being a large stockholder in all these enterprises. He is also president of the Ashland Business Men's association and has a controlling interest in the firm of Bardon, Kellogg & Co., who carry on a large retail general merchandise business. He is one of the stockholders and a director in the Northern Chief Iron company, which has its principal office in Wausau, Wisconsin. This company owns the fee to nearly three thousand acres of iron lands on the Gogebic range, upon which are located several of the best mines. It has a large income, derived from the royalties paid upon the ore mined upon these lands. He is also owner of the Burton house, at Hurley, on the Gogebic range, one of the finest hotels in northern Wisconsin.

The subject of this sketch has been mayor of Ashland one term, and is a member of the school board of that city. He is a conservative Democrat and has been a member of the state central committee, from which he resigned, and has but little taste for politics or political methods. He is proprietor of the *Superior Times*, published at Superior, Wisconsin, he having had possession of it before removing to Ashland, being first connected with it as local editor. As a citizen, Mr. Bardon stands high in the estimation of the people of Ashland and of northern Wisconsin; and, although comparatively a young man, he has already gained the reputation of being one among the most substantial and meritorious citizens of the community in which he lives.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

WILLIAM MAWBY TOMKINS.

William Mawby Tomkins was born at Loosely Row, Buckinghamshire, England, February 24, 1845. When only five years old his parents emigrated to this country and located at Shullsburg, then a brisk mining town in the lead mining regions of this state. His father, the Rev. William Tomkins, was a minister of the Methodist faith, who did valiant service for God and the church in those early days when to be a minister meant a life of toil and self-denial. The faithful labors and ill-paid services of the pioneer minister are matters of recent history, familiar to everybody. With an unswerving devotion to duty and principle, he kindly delivered his message in the face of difficulties that might well appall the boasted self-control of the business man of to-day.

It was in such a school as this that the subject of this sketch early learned the lessons of endurance and self-reliance that were to serve him in good need in the coming years. Like many others who have been architects of their own fortunes, he worked in the harvest fields in order to earn for himself the means to prosecute his studies, and in this way was enabled to take a classical course at Brunson institute, and, later, a scientific course at the State university at Madison.

During the next few years he followed the example of most ambitious youths and taught the village school. In 1872 he married Elizabeth A. Pearce of Iowa county, and in April, 1873, removed to Ashland.

Ashland, at this time, was but an unambitious hamlet, offering but few oppor-

tunities to the new-comer, and hence Mr. Tomkins resolutely shouldered ax and spade and lent a helping hand in clearing the site of the future city.

In December of 1873 he was elected town clerk and reëlected to the same office in 1874 and 1875. About this time Ashland began to be a place of refuge for criminals and "tough" men generally, who threatened to control the destinies of the town; and at a time when to hold such an office required some courage, Mr. Tomkins was elected justice of the peace, and administered the law with such a firm hand that the "toughs" were obliged to emigrate to a more congenial climate.

This experience turned Mr. Tomkins' attention to the study of law, which he prosecuted with so much diligence that in 1875 he was admitted to the bar, and in November of the same year elected district attorney. This office he held for five successive years. During the first period of the growth of Ashland he also held the offices of county clerk and county treasurer, in all of which he made a faithful and trustworthy official.

Mr. Tomkins has, from the first, been identified with the growth of Ashland, and the positions of trust he has received at the hands of his fellow-citizens testify to his integrity and business ability. He is at the present time a director in the Ashland National bank and also in the Ashland Water company; a stockholder in the First National bank; secretary of the Ashland Lighting company and also of the Ashland Street Railway company.

As a lawyer, Mr. Tomkins stands high in his profession, his early experience in



W. M. Tompkins

town and county offices giving him pre-eminence as a real estate lawyer.

By industry and judicious investments

he has secured a competency which insures comfort for the rest of his life.

ANGUS MACKINNON.

EARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

VI.

CONWAY'S DIAL.

"THE Dial : A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion. M. D. Conway, Editor. *Horas non numero nisi serenas*. Cincinnati. No. 76 West Third Street. 1860."

Thus reads the title-page of a bound volume of one of the most original, peculiar and audacious publications that ever issued from the press. The work is complete in twelve numbers, just filling the eventful months of the memorable year 1860, the year of Lincoln's first election, the year after John Brown's raid and before the fall of Sumter. The opening article in the January number, entitled, "A Word to Our Readers," concludes with the following paragraph :

"The Dial stands before you, reader, a legitimation of the spirit of the age, which aspires to be free ; free in thought, doubt, utterance, love and knowledge. It is, in our minds, symbolized not so much by the sun-clock in the yard as by the floral dial of Linnæus, which recorded the advancing day by the opening of some flowers and the closing of others ; it would report the day of God as recorded in the unfolding of higher life and thought, and the closing up of old superstitions and

evils ; it would be a dial measuring time by growth."

When Moncure Daniel Conway penned this paragraph he had not completed the twenty-eighth year of his very active life, though he had begun an aggressive literary career ten years before. Born in Virginia in 1832, he graduated from Dickinson college in 1849, then studied law, and in 1851 entered the ministry as a Methodist preacher. Before ascending the pulpit he had written for the Southern Literary Messenger, the Richmond *Examiner* and the Ladies' Repository, and had put forth a vigorous pamphlet advocating the introduction of the New England system of free schools in Virginia. He had, also, not only repudiated all sympathy with the system of slavery, but had begun a war on that institution as fierce as the pen could wage. Some time in 1852 he withdrew from the Methodist church and went to Cambridge, where he entered the Divinity school, from which he graduated a "broad-gauge" Unitarian, or, rather, an Emersonian transcendentalist. From 1854 to 1856 he was pastor of the Unitarian society at Washington City. The reason for his leaving Washington for

Cincinnati is thus given in his own language: "I was by a majority of five of the Unitarian congregation in Washington City declared to be too radical in my discourses on slavery for the critical condition of that latitude; and, therefore, I was invited to become minister of the First Congregational church in Cincinnati, Ohio." This was in 1856. Conway's thinking, writing and preaching became more and more independent, liberal and unpopular with religious denominations. He disbelieved in the supernatural elements of Christianity, and published what were regarded as flippant "Tracts for Today" and discourses in "Defense of the Theater," and on the "Natural History of the Devil."

Such was the history and record of the young man, M. D. Conway, at the period when the Dial was conceived and born. His mind was saturated and dripping with speculative philosophy and the thought and dream of the Concord seer. The very name of the new magazine was identical with that of the celebrated Boston "organ," conducted in 1840-5 by Margaret Fuller and R. W. Emerson, of which the western journal, as Conway confessed, aspired "to be an Avatar."

The great majority of pieces in the Dial were written by Conway, even including several bits of poetry, "Eola," "Amor Respexit Coelum," etc. He wrote a series of ten papers, a sort of didactic story in the Carlylesque style, called "Dr. Einbohrer and His Pupils," in which are discussed various problems of evolution, life and faith. Other of his articles are, "Excalibur: A Story for Anglo-American Boys," being a dramatic history of John

Brown's sword; "The God with the Hammer," "The Two Servants," "Nemesis of Unitarianism," "Swedenborgian Heretic," "The Magic Duet," "The Word," "Moral Diagnosis of Disease" and "Who Discovered the Planet?" The last named was widely copied and the poet Longfellow praised it.

The Dial had a number of able contributors, several of them distinguished in letters. Among these was Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who published in the Dial a complete work running through nine numbers, entitled, "The Christianity of Christ." This was the earliest published work of importance by the author.

Emerson honored his friend and admirer by sending occasional contributions in prose and verse to the Cincinnati periodical. The essay, "Domestic Life," was published October, 1860, and "The Story of West Indian Emancipation," in November. The quatrains—"Cras, Heri, Hodie," "Climacteric," "Botanist," "Forester," "Gardener," "Northman," "From Alcuin," "Nature," "Natura in Minimus," "Orator," "Poet," "Artist," were originally printed in Conway's Dial.

A number of the early poems of W. D. Howells adorn the pages of the Dial. Of these I name, "The Poet," "Misanthropy" and the lines beginning,

"The moonlight is full of the fragrance
Of the blooming orchard trees."

It rests upon undeniable authority that the first printed notice of his work that Howells ever saw was a little review of the "Poems of Two Friends," published in the Dial for March, 1860. The notice says, "Mr. Howells has intellect and culture, graced by an almost Heinesque

familiarity with high things ; and if it were not for a certain fear of himself, we should hope that this work was but a prelude to his sonata."

Translations from Taussennel, Balzac and other French authors were furnished the Dial by Dr. M. E. Lazarus. The longest of these was a complete translation of Balzac's "Ursula."

R. D. Mussey wrote for the Dial a striking allegorical composition on love, with the figurative title, "My Sculptured Palace Walls."

A very remarkable and, to most minds, shockingly irreverent article on "Prayer" was contributed by the late Orson S. Murray. The object of the writer was to prove that all prayer is unmitigated evil. Mr. Conway added a comment to the article, disclaiming responsibility for its sentiments and combatting them.

Orson Murray was a noted anti-slavery agitator, and opposer of the church. Whittier described him as a "man terribly in earnest, with a zeal that bordered on fanaticism, and who was none the more genial for the mob violence to which he had been subjected." He was born in Orwell, Vermont, September 23, 1806 ; removed to Ohio in 1844, where he published a radical paper, *The Regenerator*, which had been started in New York. He died at his residence, near Foster's, Warren county, Ohio, June 14, 1885, aged seventy-nine. He had prepared his own funeral sermon, or "Death-bed Thoughts," which were read on the day of his burial.

An exceedingly attractive and suggestive feature of the Dial was a department called "The Catholic Chapter," a monthly collection of religious and moral aphor-

isms from all sources, ancient and modern, which, no doubt, was the beginning of Conway's "Sacred Authology."

The best and most readable of Conway's own writing in the Dial is the part included under the head of "Critical Notices." In this sort of work the versatile editor was crisp, piquant and wonderfully discriminating. His genius is essentially literary, and he reads and reviews books *con amore*.

The year 1860 was prolific of significant books, especially in the line of controversy, religious and political, and of discussion, scientific and philosophical. A few of the numerous works reviewed with more or less thoroughness in the Dial, were Henry Ward Beecher's 'Views and Evidences of Religious Subjects' and Edward Beecher's 'Concord of Ages,' both progressive ; Sir William Hamilton's 'Logic,' the 'Political Debates of Lincoln and Douglas' and Redpath's 'Life of John Brown,' Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' Hawthorne's 'Marble Faun' and George Eliot's 'Mill on the Floss,' and, in poetry, 'Lucile' and Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass.'

The editor's breezy criticism of Whitman contains an amusing passage, which is here quoted because it kills two or more birds with a well-slung stone. It reads as follows : "A friend of ours told us that once, when he was visiting Lizst, a fine-dressed gentleman from Boston was announced, and during the conversation the latter spoke with great contempt of Wagner (the new light) and his music. Lizst did not say anything, but went to the open piano and struck with grandeur the opening chords of the Tannhäuser over-

ture ; having played it through, he turned and quietly remarked, 'The man who doesn't call that good music is a fool.' It is the only reply which can be made to those who do not find that quintessence of things which we call poetry in many passages of this (Whitman's) work."

In a short but cordial notice of Coggeshall's 'Poets and Poetry of the West,' published at Columbus in 1860, occur these resounding sentences: "But we do not fear that any man will carefully read this book without seeing that the west has a symphony to utter, whose keynote is already struck, and which is to make the world pause and listen. The world has heard the song of Memnon in the Orient ; it must now turn to hear the Memnon, carved by the ages, as it shall respond to the glow of the Occident."

The very last one of the seven hundred and seventy-eight pages included in the Dial is devoted to a reverential and laudatory heralding of Emerson's 'Conduct of Life,' the sheets of which the Boston master furnished in advance to his Cincinnati disciple.

The Dial was self-supporting. It was largely patronized by Jews.

In his "Parting Word" to the reader, the proprietor wrote: "We confess to some complacency regarding what we have done, and can never be brought to look upon the Dial as, in any sense, a failure. We could name one or two papers that we have been enabled to lay before the public, and claim that they alone were worth all the toil and expense which our project has involved with editor or subscriber. Sweeter verses have never been sung in the land than some which have

been wafted from the branches of the Dial through the country. And we rest from our labors quite sure that we shall see the day when the numbers remaining on hand will be insufficient to supply the demand for them."

W. H. VENABLE.

Partial list of literary periodicals published in the Ohio valley from the year 1819 to 1860:

The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine. Monthly. Wm. Gibbs Hunt, Lexington, Ky., August, 1819, to July, 1821.

The Literary Cadet. Weekly. Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Cincinnati, November, 1819. Twenty-three numbers were issued and then the Cadet was merged in the Western Spy, which was thereafter published as the Western Spy and Literary Gazette.

The Ohio. Semi-monthly. John H. Woods and Samuel S. Brooks, Cincinnati, 1821. Continued for one year.

The Literary Gazette. Weekly. John P. Foote, Cincinnati, January, 1824, to December, 1824. Received by Looker and Reynolds, who continued it for eight months in 1825.

The Western Minerva. Francis and Wm. D. Gallagher, Cincinnati, 1826. Survived less than one year.

The Western Review. Monthly. Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, May, 1827, to June, 1830.

Transylvania Literary Journal. A college paper. Prof. Thos. J. Matthews, Lexington, Ky., 1829.

Masonic Souvenir and Pittsburgh Literary Gazette. A quarto weekly. Flint called it, "in form and appearance the handsomest in our valley." 1828.

The Shield. Weekly. R. C. Langdon, Cincinnati, 182-. Survived two years.

The Ladies' Museum. Weekly. Joel T. Case, Cincinnati, 1830. Survived one or two years.

The Illinois Magazine. Monthly. James Hall, Shawneetown, Ill., October, 1830, to January, 1832.

The Cincinnati Mirror and Ladies' Parterre. Edited by Wm. D. Gallagher. Published by John H. Wood. Semi-monthly. First number issued October 1, 1831. At the beginning of the third year Thomas H. Shreve went into partnership with Gallagher and the two bought the paper, enlarged it, and issued it weekly under the name Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature. In April,

1835, the Chronicle was merged in the Mirror and James H. Perkins became one of its editors. The Mirror was sold in October, 1835, to James B. Marshall, and bought again in January, 1836, by Flash and Ryder. It was discontinued early in 1836.

The Western Monthly Magazine, a continuation of the Illinois Magazine. Cincinnati, James Hall, January, 1833, to February, 1837.

The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education. A. Pickett, Cincinnati, 1833.

The Literary Pioneer. Nashville, Tennessee, 1833.

The Kaleidoscope. Nashville, Tennessee, 1833.

The Literary Register. Elyria, Ohio, 1833.

The Schoolmaster and Academic Journal. Semi-monthly. B. F. Morris, Oxford, Ohio, 1834.

The Western Gem and Cabinet of Literature, Science and News. St. Clairsville, Ohio. Semi-monthly, and afterwards weekly. Gregg and Duffey. Mrs. Dumont and Mrs. Sigourney were contributors. 1834. Kept up about a year.

The Western Messenger. Cincinnati and Louisville. Western Unitarian Association. Edited by Ephraim Peabody, James Freeman Clarke, James H. Perkins and W. H. Channing. June, 1835, to April, 1841.

The Family Magazine. Cincinnati, Eli Taylor. Started in 1836 and published six years or more.

The Western Literary Journal and Review. Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher, 1836. One volume.

Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. Louisville, W. D. Gallagher and John B. Marshall, 1837. Five numbers only.

The Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine. Columbus and Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, May, 1838, to 1841.

The Literary News-Letter. Weekly. Louisville, Kentucky, Edmund Flagg, 1839. One year.

The Monthly Chronicle. Mansfield, Ohio, 1839.

Literary Examiner and Western Review. Pittsburgh, E. B. Fisher and W. H. Burleigh. Monthly. Eighty-four pages to a number. 1839. Published about a year.

The Buckeye Blossom. Xenia, P. Lapham and W. B. Fairchild, 1839.

The Family Schoolmaster. Richmond, Ind., Halloway and Davis, 1839.

The Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by an association of ladies and gentlemen. Published by H. P. Brooks. Began August, 1840. Short lived.

The Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West. Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern, 1841 to 1876. In the year 1877 the Methodist Book Con-

cern began to publish the National Repository, which was kept up for four years.

The Western Rambler. Cincinnati, Austin T. Earle and Benj. S. Fry. Started September 28, 1844. Survived only a few months.

Southwestern Literary Journal and Monthly Review. E. C. Z. Judson ("Ned Buntline") and H. A. Kidd, assisted by L. A. Hine. Nos. 1 and 2 were published in Cincinnati; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 in Nashville, Tennessee. From November, 1844, to April, 1845.

The Querist. Cincinnati, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, 1844. Continued a few months.

The Democratic Monthly Magazine and Western Review. Columbus, Ohio; B. B. Taylor, editor; S. Medary, publisher. June and July, 1844.

The Casket. Cincinnati, J. H. Green, "the reformed gambler," and Emerson Bennett, 1845.

The Quarterly Journal and Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to July, 1846.

The Herald of Truth. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January, 1847, to June, 1848.

The Great West. Literary newspaper. Cincinnati, E. Penrose Jones, May 5, 1848, to March, 1850.

Sackett's Model Parlor Paper. Cincinnati, Egbert Sackett and F. Colton, December, 1848. Eight numbers issued.

The Phonetic Magazine. Forty-eight pages. Monthly. Partly in the reformed spelling. Longley Brothers.

Type of the Times. Successor to above. Weekly octavo. Same publishers. Edited by Elias Longley and William Henry Smith.

The Shooting Star. Cincinnati, S. H. Minor.

The Semi-Colon. Cincinnati.

The Western Mirror. G. W. Copelan and "Sam'l Pickwick, Jr.," Woodward College, Cincinnati.

Western Quarterly Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to April, 1849.

Gentleman's Magazine. Cincinnati, J. Milton Sanders and J. M. Huntington, 1849. A few numbers only.

The Hipean. Cooper Female Institute, Dayton, Ohio, 1849.

Moore's Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by A. and Mrs. H. G. Moore. Begun in 1849 and continued about eight years.

The Western Pioneer. Chillicothe, S. Williams.

The Western Literary Magazine. Columbus, Ohio, Geo. Brewer.

The Columbian. Literary newspaper. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc and W. D. Tidball, October 20, 1849, to March, 1850.

Columbian and Great West. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc, March, 1850, to September, 1854.

The Citizen. Lyons and McCormick, Cincinnati, 1851.

Pen and Pencil. Cincinnati, W. Wallace Warden. Started January, 1853. Eight numbers issued.

The Parlor Magazine. Cincinnati. Conducted by Jethro Jackson, assisted by Alice Cary. Begun July, 1853. Two volumes.

Genius of the West. Cincinnati. Edited by Howard Durham, Coates Kinney and W. T. Coggeshall. October, 1853, to June, 1856.

The Literary Journal. Cincinnati, Mrs. "Ella Wentworth" and Mrs. E. K. Bangs, 1854. A few numbers.

West American Review. Cincinnati, G. W. L. Bickley, 1854.

The Forest Garland. Cincinnati, Smith and Lap- ham, 1854.

The Odd Fellows' Literary Casket.* Cincinnati. Edited by W. P. Strickland; published by Tidball and Turner. Begun in 1854.

The Diadem. Attica, Ohio, J. C. Michell, 1854.

The Literary Messenger. Versailles, Indiana. Ross Alley, 1854.

The Western Literary Cabinet. Detroit, Michigan, Mrs. Sheldon, 1854.

The Home Journal. Cincinnati, Alf Burnett and Enos B. Reed, 1855.

The Western Art Journal. Cincinnati. Edited by Rev. W. P. Strickland; published by J. S. Babcock, 1855.

The Message Bird. Waynesville, Ohio, J. W. Roberts, 1856 to 1860.

The Dial: A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion. Cincinnati, M. D. Conway, January to December, 1860.

* Afterwards published by Longley Brothers. Eighty pages. W. H. Smith, editor. Dr. I. D. Williamson.

1788: OUR FIRST COURT HELD A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

I STATED in my paper published in the September number of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* that Governor St. Clair, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1788, at Marietta, proclaimed the establishment of the county of Washington, being the first one erected in the territory northwest of the River Ohio, defining its boundaries by metes and bounds; and that the governor and Judges Varnum and Parsons then proceeded to address themselves to the further performance of their official duties, by adopting or enacting a law providing for the organization of the militia, and other laws which were ultimately to form a complete code for the government of the territory.

Among the laws perfected and promulgated by them during the month of August, 1788, were those providing for establishing common pleas courts and

courts of general quarter sessions; also courts of probate, or orphans' courts, and justices' courts. The act which provided for the organization of the foregoing courts bore date August 30, 1788.

The court of common pleas was composed of three judges, any two of whom constituted a quorum to transact the business of the court.

The court of general quarter sessions was composed of two judges of the common pleas court and of three county justices of the peace or magistrates, and was required to hold sessions four times in each year. The probate court held four sessions a year also. It consisted of but one judge except in certain contingencies, when he was authorized to call to his assistance two judges of the court of common pleas.

General Rufus Putnam, General Ben-

jamin Tupper and Colonel Archibald Crary were the first judges of the common pleas court of Washington county, in the Northwest territory, appointed by Governor St. Clair in August, 1788. Colonel Ebenezer Sproat was appointed sheriff and Colonel Return J. Meigs, sr., was clerk of said court, also of the general court of quarter sessions; and Colonel Sproat also served as sheriff of both courts.

It is asserted by Mitchner, the historian, in 'Ohio Annals,' that the first court of common pleas in the Northwest territory was held at Marietta during the first week in September, 1788. The same author, in remarking upon the scenes, pageantry, style, exercises and display connected therewith, observes that a procession was formed at the "Point" (the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio river) of the inhabitants and the officers from Fort Harmar, who escorted the judges of the court of common pleas, the governor of the territory and the territorial judges to the hall appropriated for that purpose, in the northwest block-house in Campus Martius. The procession was headed by the sheriff with drawn sword and baton of office. After prayer by Rev. Manasseh Cutler, the court was organized by reading the commissions of the judges, also of the clerk and sheriff, after which the latter proclaimed the court open for the transaction of business.

The first court of general quarter sessions held in the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," was opened at Marietta, in "Campus Martius," September 9, 1788. The commissions appointing the judges were read. Judges Putnam and Tupper of the common pleas court

were on the bench, and, with Esquires Isaac Pearce, Thomas Lord and Return Jonathan Meigs, jr. (three county justices of the peace or territorial magistrates), constituted the quorum of our first court of quarter sessions, held a hundred years ago in the Northwest territory.

As already stated, Messrs. Sproat and Meigs served respectively in the offices of sheriff and clerk. The first act of the court was to proceed to impanel a grand jury, which was accordingly done, the following named gentlemen constituting that body, namely: William Stacey (foreman), Nathaniel Cushing, Nathan Goodale, Charles Knowles, Anselm Tupper, Jonathan Stone, Oliver Rice, Ezra Lunt, John Matthews, George Ingersoll, Jonathan Devol, Jethro Putnam, Samuel Stebbins and Jabez True.

And this was the first grand jury to exercise its important functions in the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio;" and it was just one hundred years ago when our local or county courts were first organized.

The men that constituted the early-time local courts in the Northwest territory a century ago, were principally New Englanders and organizers, or at least members, of the Ohio Land company. All were brave-hearted pioneers and "men of mark"—patriots and heroes were they all, who had recently been conspicuous on the battle-fields of the Revolution, and were all leaders and well known and prominent for intelligence and integrity and the practice of the higher virtues. But if indulged, I will speak of them a little more in detail, promising though to deal very sparingly in words.

Judge Putnam of the common pleas court had made a highly honorable record as a commander during our Indian and French wars, before our Revolutionary struggle, as well as during his eight years' service in that war. He was the chief founder, as well as the chosen leader, of the Ohio Land company, in 1787-88, and succeeded Judge Parsons, in 1790, as one of the territorial judges; was a brigadier-general in General Wayne's army for a time; served as surveyor-general some years, and also as a member of the territorial legislature and as a member of the constitutional convention of 1802.

Judge Tupper, who was associated with Judge Putnam in holding the first court of common pleas at Marietta in 1788, served with honor in the French and Indian wars, as well as during the Revolutionary war; was a member of the Ohio Land company; served with distinction in various military and civil positions, and was a man of excellent reputation, of decided talents and of great influence.

Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, an officer (sheriff) of our early-time courts, was a colonel commanding a regiment during the Revolution, serving with distinction on many a well-fought battle-field. He was one of the Ohio Land company who came to the Northwest territory with General Putnam in 1788. Being a man of influence, character and great popularity, he was retained in the sheriff's office, in Washington county, fourteen years, or until the year 1802.

Colonel Return J. Meigs, the clerk of our first courts, had also served as a colonel in the Revolutionary war, and performed such acts of bravery and heroic exploits

as to receive a vote of thanks—also a sword—from congress. He commanded a regiment at the storming of Stony Point, and served with great gallantry to the end of the war, performing some brilliant acts of heroism.

After serving for a time as clerk of the courts in Washington county, Colonel Meigs joined the army of General Wayne in a high official capacity and acquitted himself creditably. In 1801 President Jefferson appointed him agent for Indian affairs—a position which required his removal from the territory—and he died at the Cherokee agency, while yet in the public service, in 1823.

Colonel Meigs was a member of the company of emigrants that, under the leadership of General Putnam, arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum river in 1788. He was a man of a high sense of honor, of the strictest integrity and of great influence.

Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D. (the court chaplain at Marietta in 1788), was a graduate of Yale college in 1765; served as an army chaplain during the Revolutionary war; became noted for his scientific attainments; was elected a member of the American Academy of Sciences, and also of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of other learned societies. He was a "man of affairs"—an active agent was he of the Ohio Land company, in negotiating with congress for the extensive tract of land of said company's purchase of a million and a half of acres.

Chaplain Cutler was tendered a territorial judgeship by President Washington, which he declined, although he had studied law. He brought a company of

emigrants to the Northwest territory, arriving in July, 1788, which company probably included the three county magistrates (Squires Pearce, Lord and Meigs, jr.) who had in part constituted the court of quarter sessions. The chaplain (Cutler) returned to Massachusetts in 1790; served in several sessions of the legislature of said state; was twice elected a member of the congress of the United States, serving in that body in 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804.

And of similar reputation, though not so widely known, were the associate magistrates (Pearce, Lord and Meigs, jr.) that, with Judges Putnam and Tupper, held the first court of quarter sessions in the Northwest territory, just a century ago. They were men of solid character and, presumably, members of the Ohio Land company. They early arrived at the "Point," and soon attained to a good degree of consideration and standing. The last named of the three magistrates under consideration (Return Jonathan Meigs,

jr.) was a graduate of Yale college in 1785; came to the Northwest territory in 1788, having previously studied law. He subsequently served as a territorial judge; also as a judge of the supreme court of Ohio, governor of the state, an efficient major-general during the War of 1812-15; also postmaster-general of the United States, and finally a United States senator.

I stated that Archibald Crary was the third judge that composed the first court of common pleas in 1788; he, however, did not occupy the bench with his associates (Judges Putnam and Tupper), it being unnecessary, as two judges constituted a quorum of said court.

Judge Crary was a man of character and influence, but not much inclined to occupy public positions; hence our territorial annals make mention of him but seldom. Nevertheless, he was one of the honored pioneers of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio."

ISAAC SMUCKER.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

IX.

AN ERA OF RAILROAD VENTURES—1836 TO 1840.

THE year 1836 was not the witness of so many propositions, promises and plans as were advanced in the twelve months preceding, the country seeming to have reached a stage of reflection, with an idea that some of the schemes already on hand could be profitably disposed of before others were formulated. Yet the end of high hopes and rosy expectations had been by no means reached, nor had it been demonstrated by practical experience that the pace of railroad building had been set at a mark beyond the demands of the country. Public orators and newspaper writers still waxed eloquent of the wonders to be achieved by steam, and painted in picturesque language the glories that were to gleam along the lines of bright-worn iron stretching away to north and south and west.

And there was by no means silence nor cessation from labor on the part of those who were interested in steam. In February we learn that in New York, the bill authorizing a state loan of three million dollars to the New York & Erie

company has passed the legislature by a vote of sixty-three to forty-five. In addition to various enterprises of a minor nature in the east, the great west is awakening and following in the steps of the older states. Michigan and Indiana seem fully aroused. Of the former, the *Detroit Journal* says: "Companies have been chartered for the construction of railroads from Detroit to the mouth of St. Joseph's; from Toledo to the mouth of the Kalamazoo; from Monroe to some point on the Detroit & St. Joseph's railroad—Marshall, we believe; from Detroit to Pontiac, which will probably be continued to Saginaw or the Grand river; from Mount Clemens to Saginaw. Perhaps the whole length of these cannot be less than seven hundred miles. The money paid on account of ardent spirits by a population of two hundred thousand would be sufficient, in six years, to complete all these works"—if they could only be persuaded to pay it. The passage of the "Great Internal Improvement Bill," by the senate of Indiana, had for its

purpose a loan of ten million dollars on the credit of the state and to be expended under the direction of a board of internal improvements. The figures to be expended upon railroads out of this sum were as follows: \$1,600,000 to the New Albany & Lafayette railroad; \$1,300,000 to the New Albany & Crawfordsville macadamized or railroad; \$500,000 to the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis railroad.

Illinois, also filled with an emulative spirit and not willing that others should be ahead of her in the onward march of improvement, passed, during the session of the legislature that ended in February of 1836, fourteen acts of incorporation authorizing the construction of the following roads: "Bellville & Mississippi; Warsaw, Peoria & Wabash; Wabash & Mississippi Union; Shawneetown & Alton; Pekin, Bloomington & Wabash; Mississippi, Springfield & Carrollton; Galena & Chicago; Central Branch Wabash; Waverly & Grand Prairie; Winchester, Gynville & Jacksonville; Alton, Wabash & Erie; Mount Carmel & Alton; Rushville, Wabash & Mississippi."

The people of Missouri were also awake, as is shown by the talk already of a line from St. Louis to Fayette, a point one hundred miles and more west of the Mississippi: "It is thus," declares an eastern enthusiast, "that our western brethren are supplying the links of that great chain of railroad communication which, before the end of this century, will probably be unbroken between the Atlantic sea-board and the furthest limits of habitation in the west.

The 'Atlantic & Pacific Railroad' will, one day, be the name of that splendid whole, of which the Baltimore & Ohio railroad is now one of the parts."

"We have before us," said the editor of *The Railroad Journal*, "the act to incorporate the Ashtabula, Warren & East Liverpool Railroad company. The friends of this important work, which is to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio river by a short, direct and feasible route, will be gratified to learn, by a perusal of the charter, that its provisions are liberal, and such as cannot fail to be satisfactory to capitalists who are desirous of investing their funds in the stock of the company." Despite this cheerful view, the liberal charter and the hard work of the friends of the enterprise in the west, it was not destined to be built at that time, and never under that name or along the exact line proposed.

Canada was also the theatre of various enterprises, and in March we learn that one line is proposed from Sandwich to Buffalo; one from Burlington bay, at the head of Lake Ontario, to London, and from thence to Sandwich; one from London to Lake Huron, and one from Hamilton to the Niagara river.

In Connecticut, an unique and remarkable incident is noted worthy to be recorded amid this universal desire for roads. Says the *New Haven Herald*: "The Newington folks, we are told, hearing that it was proposed to run a railroad through their town, presented a remonstrance to the directors, representing that they were a peaceable, orderly people (which in truth they are),

and begged that their quiet might not be interrupted by steam-cars and the influx of strangers. As good luck would have it, there was no occasion to contravene their wishes, the other fork being deemed preferable."

Passing hurriedly along, we learn that in Tennessee an "Improvement Act" was passed, which provided for the subscription by the state of one-third of the stock of railroads, etc. In Ohio the books of another road that was to connect the Ohio river and Lake Erie were opened, the stock being in great demand. It was estimated, "on good authority, that at this time the railroads in the United States, either actually under contract or in progress of being surveyed, amount to more than three thousand miles." Such is the demand for railroad iron in England for the American market, that common bar iron, which the year before was worth £6 10s. in Wales, is worth £9 10s. at the Welsh works; while the New York papers of that year are authority for the statement that "at this time contracts have been actually made in England by American houses for four hundred thousand tons of railroad iron to be shipped to this country." To this statement the *Pennsylvania Telegraph* adds a pertinent reflection: "£9 10s. sterling is about forty-five dollars of our money; but railroad iron costs more than common bar iron, and is at this time worth at least fifty dollars per ton at the works in Wales or Staffordshire. Four hundred thousand tons of iron, at fifty dollars per ton, is twenty millions of dollars that the people of the United States

are bound to pay to the English by their present contracts for railroad iron. If all the projected railroads of this country shall be laid down with British iron rails, we shall pay to the English nation, within the next seven years, at least *fifty millions of dollars for railroad iron*. And yet, we have in our mountains both iron ore and coal of the best quality, and in quantities sufficient to yield iron for the whole world." In Massachusetts a line from Providence to Woonsocket Falls was proposed. It was announced that the Elizabethtown & Somerville road of New Jersey would be completed within the year, and that it would eventually be extended from Somerville to Belvidere and Easton, Pennsylvania, thence to connect with the New York & Erie road. The Wilmington & Halifax road of North Carolina was formally organized. From Georgia came the news that "the Central Railroad & Banking company has lately organized, and will, no doubt, proceed forthwith to the work of a road from Savannah to this city (Macon), two hundred miles in length. The Monroe Railroad company is now progressing with their road from Macon to Forsyth, twenty-five miles. . . . Stock will be offered the first of November next for a continuation of the road from Forsyth to West Point—say eighty-five miles—there to unite with the road now in progress from Montgomery, Alabama—say ninety miles." Of an enthusiastic railroad meeting held in St. Louis, Missouri, we are told that "another project received the attention of the meeting, which is of great interest to our city (St. Louis),

and if successfully entertained will make it one of the greatest manufacturing and commercial places in the Union. We mean the projected railroad to the lead mines of Washington and Franklin counties, and iron mines in the same region of country, and eventually extending it to the rich agricultural counties in what is called the Kickapoo country." A bill authorizing the treasurer of Massachusetts to subscribe one million dollars to the Western railroad passed one branch of the legislature "by a vote so strong as to leave no doubt as to its final success." This company held a charter for a road from Worcester to West Stockbridge, forming an important link in the chain of communication between Albany and Boston. South Carolina appropriated ten thousand dollars for the survey of the Cincinnati & Charleston line, and appointed commissioners to work for the advance of the measure. The books of the Jackson & Brandon road, in Mississippi, were opened, and the local newspaper declares that "one thousand shares of one hundred dollars each were allotted to the people of Rankin county, which were taken before night on the first day."

While there were so many measures proposed for spanning the country with bands of iron, in these flush days of speculation and promise, it would have been foreign to the American character and sadly unlike mankind had there appeared nothing grotesque or fanciful among them. There were, indeed, many of the schemes advanced that were fully charged with elements of this char-

acter, but one could hardly find among them any that were quite so burdened in that regard as that long since extinct and almost forgotten corporation that for a brief season flourished and expanded under the name of "The Ohio Railroad Company." Its career so well illustrates the trend of public spirit in too many cases at the time, and its story has been so clearly and graphically related, that I cannot forbear reproducing it here. The history, as given, is from the pen of C. P. Leland, esq., the well-known auditor of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad company,* who has made a close study of railroad history and has produced a number of valuable papers thereon. His history of the enterprise is as follows :

"It may not be generally known that a determined effort was made to build a railroad substantially on the present line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern in Ohio, fifteen years before the opening of the Cleveland & Toledo, or the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula, now embraced in the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern. As a forerunner of the present corporation, it is deemed appropriate to give a permanent record to a sketch of the rise and fall of 'The Ohio Railroad Company.'

"This company was organized at a residence in Painesville, in April, 1836, to build a railroad from the Pennsylvania state line, through the northern tier of counties of Ohio, to the Maumee river,

* From the 'Tenth Annual Report of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad Company,' 1879, p. 50.

at Manhattan, then a paper city rival of Toledo, now part of it.

"In 1829, the year in which Stephen-son made his triumphant trial trip with the Rocket, on the Liverpool & Manchester railway, Colonel Clinton, a civil engineer, announced his project for the Great Western railway from New York to the Mississippi river, a distance of 1,050 miles, at an estimated cost of \$15,000,000. Soon after another and a rival project was put forth to build a railroad on piles—ten feet apart—on which were to be placed planks ninety by three inches, edgewise, which supplied the tracks—no iron to be used except on the bolts and nuts necessary to fasten the planks to the piles. This road—1,050 miles—was to cost less than one million dollars! Here is the estimate made by the projector:

Right of way.....	\$532,800
Lease of mills to saw planks.....	1,850
Getting out posts.....	31,400
Bolts and nuts.....	211,200
Leveling posts and laying rails (planks)....	62,800
Setting posts and piles.....	31,400
Sawing.....	35,500
Total.....	\$906,950

"Strange as it may seem, this unique plan, with the addition of a light strap iron rail, was adopted by the Ohio Railroad company.

"The charter was extremely liberal, bestowing upon the company banking privileges, which were utilized, as will be painfully remembered by the surviving business men of that day, for the emission of three or four hundred thousand dollars of bills. As if this were not enough, the company had the benefit of the so-called 'Ohio Plunder Law,' un-

der which the state was forced to become a partner to the extent of fifty per cent. of the amount of capital stock subscribed and paid in by any railroad, turnpike or canal company. As the term "paid in" was construed with extreme liberality, a subscriber to stock could pay therefor with a deed of his lot or farm *at his own valuation*. After going through this form, gathering in a lot of so-called assets, the officers of the company would certify to the auditor of state that so much stock had been subscribed and paid in, and demand state bonds to the extent of one-half the sum so subscribed and paid in. Of course the larger this sum the more bonds the state had to issue.

"So many schemes and projects were started under the extraordinary stimulus afforded by this law, it was foreseen that the bond mill at Columbus would break down under the demand from all sections of the state; hence the law was repealed before a very large amount was issued.* The Ohio Railroad company, however, got in its work (on the subscription book) early. Seven men, who could probably have raised with difficulty \$25,000, subscribed to the capital stock of this road to the extent of \$600,000 without the slightest hesitation, and received \$219,000 in state bonds—a dead loss to the state.

"These bonds and the currency issued by the company constituted nearly,

* The state issued bonds to	
Turnpike companies.....	\$1,637,500
Canal companies.....	377,500
Railroad companies.....	682,000
Total.....	\$2,697,000

if not quite, all the means for the prosecution of the work. Serious disagreements as to the best way to raise money broke out in the board of directors. One plan was to purchase flour with the company's notes, ship it to New York for sale, and to use the avails as a redemption fund for the notes and for exchange, which soon was worth ten per cent. premium. In 1836 the route east of Cleveland was surveyed and located. Then the directors, possibly influenced by private interests, quarreled as to where to begin the work. One party insisted that the section between Fremont and the Maumee river be constructed first, while another as strenuously insisted on beginning at Cleveland and proceeding eastward. The former plan prevailed, and the first pile was driven at Fremont, near the present Lake Shore & Michigan Southern station, June 19, 1839.

"As already stated, this road was to be built upon piles or posts. These posts were twelve to sixteen inches in diameter, and seven to twenty-eight feet long, to accommodate the inequalities in the surface of the ground. They were driven ten feet apart, and as the road was to be double track, there were four rows, or 2,112 piles per mile. Upon these piles were placed longitudinally chestnut planks or sills. Then came the cross ties, six feet apart, requiring for both tracks 1,760 per mile. On these were placed the stringers or wooden rails, eight by eight. Last of all came the iron ribbon, for it was little more than that, as the estimate provided for but twenty-five tons per mile of

double track road. That the piles were well driven is attested by the fact that many of them may be seen to-day at different points along the line. The prices in the estimated cost of the road are interesting: Iron, \$80 per ton; spikes, 9 cents per pound; white oak ties, 20 cents each; timber, \$7.00 to \$8.00 per thousand feet. The chief engineer, Cyrus Williams, estimated the cost of the entire road, 177 miles, double track, at \$2,653,676, about \$16,000 per mile.

"About one-third of the road between Cleveland and Toledo was built ready for the strap rail, but the company succumbed to the hard times which followed the wild speculative era of 1836, and in 1843 operations ceased before a single train had been placed upon the track. The child of the feverish speculative era of '36 died from exhaustion while its progenitors were quarreling as to the best method of rearing it. The whole scheme was generally regarded as visionary and wild, yet only ten years afterwards (1853) the Cleveland & Toledo railroad was opened, and was a brilliant success from the start. Had the directors of the Ohio Railroad company pushed on a little farther, laid forty or fifty miles of track and placed trains on it, thus forming a basis for selling the company's bonds, it can hardly be doubted that their road would now form a part of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railway."

A notable event, to which we come in passing along the early days of the year under consideration (1836), is the formal opening of the Winchester &

Potomac line, in April. A large party of guests, with a band of music, was carried from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, "where their arrival was announced by a discharge of artillery, and warmly greeted by the enthusiastic acclamations of an immense multitude of spectators from the city of Winchester and the surrounding country."

In the speeches delivered upon that occasion, one gets no hint of a lessening belief in the greatness of internal improvements, or in the benefits they were destined to bring upon the land. The patriot, declares one orator, "might well be alarmed for the duration of the confederacy, did not the facilities of inter-communication keep pace with its enlargement. The railroad system is eminently calculated to quiet his fears. Though wide as the empire of the czar, the extension of this system will give to our confederacy the effectual compactness and elastic power of the little islands of Britain. If interest and social sympathy cement not our government, in vain were the declaration, 'The Union *must* be preserved.' 'It will be preserved!' echoes from the railroad conventions held amid the defiles of the Alleghany and the recesses of the western forests. This feeling vibrates through a lengthening chain of commercial parts, and rouses with a thrill of kindred enterprise the men of Charleston, Cincinnati and Chicago!"

On the sixteenth of April *The Railroad Journal* had the pleasure of announcing "the final passage through the New York senate and approval by the governor" of the bill to expedite the

construction of the New York & Erie road. "Our legislature," declared the editor, "has proved to us that the best interests of the people at large are still consulted, in spite of all the noisy bullying and artful sophistry got up on this occasion. No public work has ever been projected leading to more splendid results. The north and the south, east and west, city and country, will all share in common its benefits. Now, gentlemen of the New York & Erie Railroad company, the state has, at length, in part done its duty to the inhabitants of the southern counties, and if you are the men we have always taken you for, you will show them such a work as has never yet been seen, either for solidity of structure, rapidity of transit, or utility of purpose; and, what is still more important, executed with a promptness that shall disappoint its friends and shame its enemies. . . We do most heartily congratulate the public upon this event, so important to our city and to the whole state, and venture to predict that in less than five years the noblest railroad in the world will be in successful operation!"

A glimpse is given us, at this point, at one of the methods by which Illinois managed between 1835 and 1840 to burden herself with so great a weight of financial responsibility that her very material life was for a time in peril. When the Jacksonville & Meredosia (Illinois) railroad was projected, to extend from Jacksonville, in Morgan county, to Meredosia, on the Illinois river, a distance of twenty-six miles, it was explained that "any person owning

lands in Morgan county may subscribe for stock, one share, at least, on every forty acres, by giving a mortgage and paying six per cent. interest to the company, and the company may in turn raise money on these bonds and mortgages for the construction of the road." The arguments by which the farmers all through the country were urged to take stock in the various lines proposed in their sections, are indicated by the following, taken from the *Ashtabula Sentinel's* appeal for aid to the Ashtabula, Warren & Liverpool road: "We ought not to depend upon foreign capitalists to take up the stock. The people along the line have the means within themselves to construct the road, and it is for their interest to do so. The rise of property within a few miles of the line of the road, occasioned by its construction, will be more than sufficient to build it; and possessing advantages not equaled by any other route between the lake and the Ohio river, the stock will undoubtedly yield a handsome profit to the holders. Under these circumstances we appeal to the land-holders—to our citizens who are directly and deeply interested in the speedy completion of this important work—to come forward immediately and take up the stock, and keep the controlling power within themselves, and not suffer it to fall into the hands of foreign capitalists."

A convention was held at Knoxville, Tennessee, early in July, for the purpose of advancing the interests of the line from Cincinnati to Charleston, and was characterized throughout by the har-

mony of its deliberations. It was estimated that the enterprise would require at least nineteen million dollars. The convention unanimously determined to adopt the recommendation of the general committee, to admit the state of Georgia to construct a branch from any point in that state, to unite with the main road at or near Knoxville, admitting her to an equal participation of the advantages of the road, with the parties to the original charter.

Honorable John C. Calhoun, the great southern leader and defender of the doctrine of states' rights and nullification, made a personal examination of portions of the territory through which it was proposed that this line should run, and in the *Pendleton Messenger* publishes an extended letter covering his investigations and conclusions, in which he suggests a route, and urges a proper examination of the question in all its bearings, before any decision is made.

In this same month—July—the welcome news is published to New York that the books of the New York & Albany road will soon be open, with the added information that "the country through which the line will probably pass (which generally does not exceed twenty-five miles from the Hudson) may be compared with the rich Valley of the Mohawk, and with equal facilities for the construction of a railroad without stationary power, and on a very direct line. . . . Within the period of twelve years from this date, we (New York city) will number five hundred thousand souls. We venture little in predicting that then this road will be considered

next in importance to supply the necessities and comforts of life to the aqueduct from the Croton to supply us with water."

Toward the close of the year we are informed that "the first locomotive ever put into operation in Maine was that which commenced running, on the twenty-first ultimo, on that part of the Bangor & Piscataqua railroad just completed as far as Old Town. The vast lumber trade here and at Oronto, through both of which the road passes, makes this road one of great importance." It was announced only a few days later that the road from Adrian, Michigan, to Toledo, Ohio, was completed and that cars had commenced their regular trips upon it. "The opening was celebrated at Adrian by one hundred guns, a champagne party, toasts and other rejoicings. Well may salvos of artillery be fired in honor of such enterprises in young Michigan, yet a territory; and does much better in expending her powder in this way, as other portions of our population might, than in lauding the triumphs of some political election."

Alabama, not to be behind her neighbors, marked the opening of 1837 by issuing the charters of nine roads. In March the legislature of Louisiana found it expedient to loan a half million dollars to the New Orleans & Nashville company.

On April 3 a step was taken by Joseph Ritner, governor of Pennsylvania, which arrested somewhat, so far as that state was concerned, the headlong rush toward internal improvements. He found

it within his construction of his duty to interpose the executive veto against a bill that had passed the house entitled, "An act further to continue and promote the improvements of the state," and which appropriated the sum of \$3,092,000. In so doing, he declared that "nothing but a firm belief that the best interests of the whole state demand it" could have induced him to do so. Could he believe that the measure was calculated "to hasten the completion and promote the usefulness of those works," it would receive his sanction, but it seemed to him that the bill was "calculated materially to retard their progress by dissipating the funds of the commonwealth upon a great variety of objects, which, however meritorious in themselves and interesting as local improvements, are not part of the main lines, but lay the foundation for a vast increase of public debt." He then gave a list of the various improvements proposed, among which were many railroads; and among the many reasons cited in proof of the wisdom of his action, the following may be quoted in brief:

"The distribution of a great portion of the present resources of the commonwealth, among works not owned by the state; it bestows on capitalists and speculators the money which is the property of the whole people, thereby enriching individuals and sections to the injury of the rest of the community; it not only thus fritters away the means which should now be otherwise applied, but, by enabling the companies who are the recipients of its liberality to

commence and prosecute works which they will not be able to complete, it embarks the state so far in those works that she will, at no distant day, be compelled to increase her present debt for the purpose of finishing them, or lose what is now proposed to be given; it will inevitably increase the state debt, in four years, to forty-five million dollars."

Two passages of this message have an important bearing at this point, as showing the advance in prices because of such extensive ventures in all directions, and the speculative spirit that had taken hold upon the people. Those paragraphs are worthy of quotation in full:

"Seventh. Its passage will have a most disastrous effect on our present undertakings. In consequence of the rise in the price of labor and provisions within the last two years, and of the amount of work commenced in other states, the expense of constructing public improvements has increased fully fifty per cent. If the present bill pass, the large amount of work authorized by it will have an additional effect of the same kind, and will cause every contract in the commonwealth to be thrown up and re-let at an advance of not less than fifty per cent. over the price of last year. This is a grave consideration. It must be borne in mind that, while the amount of public burthen is increased by this kind of legislation, the amount of means to sustain it remains the same, and that a million of debt must be paid with a million of dollars,

whether that debt is due for the construction of sixty miles of canal, or twenty.

"Eighth. Not only will its consequences be injurious to the finances, but to the morals of the state. The bare probability of the passage of the bill has already unsettled the condition of whole sections of the state, and has given a new stimulus to the over-excited spirit of speculation. If this state of things be fomented and continued, there is no limit to the injury which may result. While the gambling spirit of speculation is confined to the large towns, society may bear it without material detriment, but if it once infect and derange the productive industry of the country, the public prosperity will be shattered in its very elements. If the mania which now rages among those who speculate in the surplus property once seize those who alone render property valuable, there is an end to all hope of continued prosperity. I fear that such will be the tendency of the legislation proposed in the present bill. A few persons fortunately located or circumstanced will be unduly and immensely benefited. The mass will either become dissatisfied, or embark in a vain attempt to achieve like good fortune. While all are thus engaged murmuring or hoping at the lottery door of fortune, the plough of industry will stand idle in the furrow."

An attempt was made to pass the bill over the veto, but failed; and as the friends of the improvements would accept of no compromise measures, the

legislature adjourned *sine die*, without having passed anything at all, in the nature of a substitute.

It will be profitable, at this point, to glance more in detail at some of the railroad movements in the west, and especially at the projects that, after long years of anxiety, financial and mechanical difficulty, and of hopes deferred, became that great line—the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern. The material for such history has been gathered with commendable industry by Mr. C. P. Leland,* and upon his authority we shall depend for much in relation thereto. "In 1833," says his account, "the then territory of Michigan, with a population of only about thirty-five thousand, incorporated a company to build a railroad from Lake Erie, at Port Lawrence (now Toledo), to the head-waters of the Kalamazoo river, giving the company the title of Erie & Kalamazoo. At that time the entire road was claimed to be in the territory of Michigan, but on the final adjustment of boundaries, after the celebrated and somewhat ludicrous Toledo war, about one-third of the road—eleven miles—was in Ohio. The track consisted of a thin iron ribbon spiked on oak stringers, and would be rejected as a street railroad now. It was opened in 1837, the motive power being horses or mules for a considerable period.

"In that year, however, the first

locomotive in the tier of great states bordering on the great lakes, and the third locomotive west of the Alleghanies, arrived at Toledo on a lake vessel for this road. It was named the 'Adrian,' built by the Baldwin Locomotive works, and was their No. 80. Here is a copy of a local item from the *Toledo Blade*, 1837, respecting this little ten-ton locomotive; also the regular advertisement of the road, in which, it is noticeable, no time is given for the departure of the train. It left when it got ready:

"It affords us pleasure to announce the arrival of the long-expected locomotive for the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad. The business of our place has been embarrassed for want of it; goods have accumulated at our wharves faster than we could transport them into the interior on cars drawn by horses, and, as a natural consequence, several of our warehouses are now crowded to their utmost capacity. It is expected that the engine will be in operation in a few days, and then, we trust, goods and merchandise will be forwarded as fast as they arrive. A little allowance, however, must be made for the time necessary to disencumber our warehouses of the large stock already on hand.

ADVERTISEMENT.

TO EMIGRANTS AND TRAVELERS.

The Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad is now in full operation between

TOLEDO AND ADRIAN.

During the ensuing season trains of cars will run daily to Adrian, there connecting with a line of Stages for the West, Michigan City, Chicago and Wisconsin Territory.

* "History of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway." By C. P. Leland. In *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies*, September, 1887, p. 340.

Emigrants and others destined for Indiana, Illinois and the Western part of Michigan

Will Save Two Days.

and the corresponding expense, by taking this route in preference to the more lengthened, tedious and expensive route heretofore traveled.

All baggage at the risk of the owners.

EDWARD BISSELL,	} Commissioners
W. P. DANIELS,	
GEORGE CRANE,	
	} E. & K. R. R.
	} Co.

A. HUGHES, Superintendent Western Stage Company.

"For ten years this road had a stormy and troublous existence, its affairs being managed sometimes by a commissioner acting for the board of directors, sometimes by trustees appointed by order of court, and part of the time by a receiver at the Toledo end and a commissioner at the Adrian end, recalling the familiar anecdote of the retort of the mate of a vessel to the captain, 'My end of this craft has come to anchor.' In 1848 the road was sold out under accumulated judgments. Honorable Washington Hunt of Lockport, New York, and George Bliss of Massachusetts, were the purchasers. They leased the road August 1, 1849, in perpetuity to its rival, the Michigan Southern, then in operation from Monroe to Hillsdale, and, although it forms a part of the main line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern from Toledo westward, the Erie & Kalamazoo company still exists, drawing and dividing its rental of thirty thousand dollars per year. This first consolidation settled the struggle for supremacy between Monroe and Toledo in favor of the latter.

"In 1837 the legislature of the state of Michigan projected and made pro-

vision for three railroads and one canal or railroad, running across the four most southerly tiers of counties, which, at that time, embraced nearly all the settled part of the state. For the survey, location, construction and management of these roads, together with the improvements of certain rivers and other minor improvements, they organized a board of internal improvements and provided for a loan of five million dollars. (Nothing mean about Michigan!) Prior to this time, a number of railroad companies had been authorized to be incorporated by the territorial legislature, and three of them had made some progress in the construction of their respective roads. The oldest of them, the Detroit & St. Joseph, was nearly finished to Ypsilanti, but had not commenced running the road. The franchises, rights and property of this company were purchased by the state, and their line became a part of the Central railroad intended to run across the state through the second tier of counties. The company had expended about one hundred and seventeen thousand dollars, which amount the state paid, taking the road. The Detroit & Pontiac railroad was about completed, and although the state aided that company by a loan of one hundred thousand dollars, the company continued in possession of the road, which is now a part of the Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee railroad. The Southern road was one of the projects of the state—authorized in the act of March 20, 1837. It was intended to run across the state, east and west, through the

most southerly tier of counties, from the navigable waters of the River Raisin, near Monroe, to New Buffalo, on Lake Michigan. (Chicago then was a mere Indian trading-post, with Fort Dearborn in a quagmire.) It goes without saying that in the terrible crash which followed the wild real estate boom of 1836-37, when everybody 'busted,' Michigan did not get left. She 'busted,' too, and had a couple of unfinished strap railroads for sale. The Southern road, Monroe to Hillsdale, sixty-eight miles, with the Tecumseh branch, ten miles, a total of seventy-eight miles, was sold to the Michigan Southern Railroad company, with Edwin C. Litchfield as its head, for half a million dollars. Pretty cheap, especially as the purchasers got long time, and met the installments with depreciated state scrip bought up at fifty and sixty cents on the dollar. But Michigan knew when she had enough, and about that time she was very earnestly hunting for somebody to help her let go. (In this particular she was not unlike a good many congressmen of to-day who voted for the Inter-state Commerce bill. When their constituents get at them next time it will not avail them to plead they 'didn't know it was loaded.' They ought to know that the great laws of supply and demand, and excessively severe competition, can be trusted to protect the people in this, as well as all other business.) The transfer of the Southern road was made December 23, 1846.

"The Michigan Southern company only extended to the Indiana state line, a little more than half way from Toledo,

or Monroe, to Chicago. It is an interesting fact that all the original companies lost their names except this one. 'Michigan Southern' forms part of the title to-day. The connecting road, under substantially the same (Litchfield) control, was the Northern Indiana, to which I will devote a brief space. In 1835 a member of the Indiana legislature, whose friends desired to build a railroad from La Porte to Michigan City, twelve miles, introduced a bill incorporating the 'Atlantic & Pacific Railroad.' The other members laughed at so pretentious a name, when he, after much argument, came down to 'Buffalo & Mississippi' as the title for his twelve mile road, and said he 'would not yield another mile.' So 'Buffalo & Mississippi' was the title adopted. The corporators met at the house of Colonel Stephen Downing, in Elkhart, May 25, 1835, and passed a resolution of inquiry, directed to the secretary of war, as to what steps, if any, had been taken regarding a survey of the railroad route from Maumee bay to the Mississippi, under a recent resolution of the United States senate. In February, 1837 (the year of our first great financial revulsion), the company was organized and the following named gentlemen made directors: Robert Stewart (president), William Barber, Aaron Streeter, John B. Niles and John Brown. In the *Toledo Weekly Blade* of 1837 may be found the following advertisement:

TO CONTRACTORS:

Notice is hereby given that the grading of the Buffalo & Mississippi railroad for a double track between Michigan City and La Porte, a distance of twelve miles, will be let at public outcry to the low-

est bidder, at La Porte, on Monday, the fourteenth day of June next.

The maps, profiles and estimates of the route will be ready for examination at the engineer's office in La Porte after the first of June.

R. STEWART, president.

MICHIGAN CITY, April 28, 1837.

"As the official record shows that this work was let on the day named, and names of contractors, prices, etc., stated, and as the records show considerable complaint by the contractors as to heavy discount on the company's scrip, it puzzled me for a time to ascertain where the contractors put in any work on this twelve miles; but Judge Niles of La Porte clears it up as follows: 'The location of the road (La Porte to Chicago, *via* Michigan City) was very injudicious, having steep grades and requiring heavy work. About one mile through the woods west of and near La Porte was cleared and partly graded, and can still be seen. Some excavating was also done near the summit, six miles northwest from La Porte, and a strip was cleared through the heavy timber near to Michigan City.' But under the pressure of the hard times the whole enterprise had to succumb. In 1838 may be found the following quaint resolution of the board:

"*Resolved*, That all operations on the road east of Goshen be suspended until the corps under the direction of Mr. Hardenberg be sufficiently recruited in health to again enter the field, and that they then proceed to locate that part of the road from Goshen to the eastern line of the state.'

"It may be remembered that 1838 was the dreadful year of sickness and

hard times. This enterprise had the life so completely knocked out of it that, during the eight years from 1839 to 1847, even the routine of annual election was neglected.*"

Returning to the east, and to 1837, we find other evidence that the work of railroad construction still goes forward, by reference to the following from the *Fredericksburgh* (Virginia) *Arena* of November, 1837: "There is no part of our duty more agreeable than to note the progress of the great works of our country, and we may say none that requires more watchfulness and care. So astonishing has been the progress of the spirit of improvement, that a journal, devoted to the subject exclusively, could hardly keep up with its march. Between the first broaching of the idea of a given work and its completion, so short a time is permitted to elapse that all the country is not informed of the projected improvement before it is announced that it is in successful operation. We could specify many instances of this kind—we content ourselves, however, by referring to the Richmond & Fredericksburgh railroad. Within little more than a year from the period at which the scheme was first presented to the public, a *reconnaissance* of the route was made, a charter obtained, the stock taken, the company organized and a portion of the work placed under contract. The work was completed within two years from the day the first

* Mr. Leland's history, of course, carries the great line of which he writes much beyond the years cited above; but only these days of beginning bear relation to the era which we have now under consideration.

ground was broken, notwithstanding the unusual severity of the three last winters. When we take into consideration the length of the road—sixty-one miles—and the heavy works required on a large portion of the route, we may safely say no public improvement in the United States has been carried on with more vigor and success. It has already, in the first year of its operation, and notwithstanding some adverse circumstances, yielded a handsome dividend, and we believe there are but few now who are persuaded that the maximum of dividend—fifteen per cent.—will be attained within a very short period. The road, in its connection, progress, completion and management, reflects credit on all concerned.

“Passing from the work at our own door, and casting our eyes to the south, we see Richmond and Petersburg just on the point of being united, and thus affording a continuous road from Fredericksburgh to the Roanoke. From Norfolk we see a road of eighty miles—running to the Roanoke—in successful operation. The Louisa road is, in part, to be put in operation forthwith. The North Carolina, the Gaston & Raleigh road, a promulgation of the Petersburg & Roanoke road, is vigorously prosecuted, whilst another road, almost as long, is nearly completed, by which Wilmington will be connected with the Norfolk and Roanoke improvement. In South Carolina we behold a company, fully organized, just undertaking the most magnificent work of the age, a road of nearly six hundred miles in length, reaching from a point

on the Charleston & Augusta road to the Ohio river. How visionary was this project deemed only eighteen months since, and yet it will be fully realized in less than seven years. The steps taken by the company indicate an intention of prosecuting the work with the greatest energy. Wherever railroads have been commenced in the south, there have been displayed a zeal and activity truly surprising—a combination of southern pluck and northern bottom. We are highly gratified at these evidences of the enterprise and activity of our countrymen. They have done more in ten years than all the hard money governments of Europe in the last ten centuries. We rejoice at every mile of road or canal that is completed, as adding to the ties of union, developing the resources of the country and increasing its military defences.”

From the report of a meeting of the directors of the then called Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad company, held at Lexington, Kentucky, on August 27, 1838, we learn further as to the progress of railroad construction in that portion of the south. From an extended report submitted by the president, Robert Y. Hayne, the following main facts are gleaned: That banking privileges had been conferred upon the company by the states of North and South Carolina and Tennessee, and that measures had been adopted for putting the bank into operation early in the winter; that the state of South Carolina had subscribed a million of dollars to the road, and had guaranteed a loan of two millions more; to effect

which, General James Hamilton had proceeded to Europe; that Tennessee had subscribed six hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the road; and that the amount of public and private subscriptions exceeded eight millions of dollars, including two millions taken by the stockholders in the Charleston & Hamburg railroad, according to the terms of the contract with that company. It further appeared that, in conformity with the direction of the stockholders at their last general meeting, the Charleston & Hamburg railroad (extending from Charleston to Augusta, in Georgia, a distance of one hundred and thirty-six miles) had been purchased, and was in course of rapid improvement—the road, in its entire extent, with the exception of a few miles which would shortly be finished, having been embanked, and a new and improved iron having already been laid down for upwards of one hundred miles, and the balance of the new iron having been ordered from Europe. It appeared that, although these extensive improvements had necessarily been made at an expense considerably exceeding the present receipts, yet that the business and income of the road were very large, and constantly increasing. The receipts exceeded one thousand dollars a day, and the traveling, on an average, exceeding one hundred passengers daily.

It further appeared that the main track of the Charleston & Ohio road, leading toward the mountains, had been laid off from a point on the Charleston & Hamburg road, sixty-two miles from

Columbia, the capital of the state, sixty-five miles further; and that contracts had been made for the execution of the work, which was going on rapidly and successfully. Surveys had been executed along the whole line from Charleston to Lexington, and it had been ascertained that the mountains could be passed with locomotives at grades less than had been adopted on other roads, and that no serious obstacles were presented to the construction of the work on any part of the line.

A memorial was presented from subscribers in the neighborhood of Covington and Newport, in Kentucky, setting forth that, in consequence of the alteration in the charter, by which the company was relieved from the branch extending from Lexington to the Ohio river, in the direction of Cincinnati, they had determined to apply their funds, at the proper time, to the building of that branch, for which charters were already obtained. It was ordered by the directors that such stockholders should be permitted to withdraw their funds, in accordance with their expressed wish.

In June, 1839, comes the announcement that “one more link of the railroads running west” is finished—the Auburn & Syracuse being completed. A line is opened about the same time in the island of Cuba, from Havana to Guines, a distance of forty-five miles, the captain-general of the island opening it “with appropriate solemnities, which served to quiet the apprehensions which were excited by this

mode of communication, with a rapidity to which the Spanish population were so little accustomed."

This rapid survey of the various movements in America has brought us to the edge of the year 1840, and before passing beyond that point, or to the discussion of another branch of our theme, some information in the way of a summary, from one able by technical knowledge and thorough investigation to speak by authority, may be given. The most complete and intelligent survey of the American railroads that had yet been made, is that which, for a year and a half prior to this period, had been conducted by a distinguished foreign engineer and author, F. A. Chevalier de Gerstner, the builder of some of the most important railway lines on the European continent. The results of these observations were summed up in a report of unusual value. Leaving New York, he inspected the lines between Albany and Lake Erie, then those of New England, and afterwards proceeded to Philadelphia, Baltimore and the south as far as New Orleans, and thence through the western states and home by the way of Pennsylvania. In the course thereof he said: "According to the facts collected during my travels since my arrival in New York, there are now over three thousand miles of railroads now completed and in operation in the United States; four hundred and twenty-five locomotives, of which the greatest number were made in this country, run on the several railroads, and I believe up to the end of 1839 the

length of railroads in the United States may amount to forty-one hundred miles. The capital expended on the railroads now in operation is about sixty millions of dollars, or an average cost of about twenty thousand dollars per mile, for which sum the railroads, with the buildings, have been constructed and the necessary locomotives and cars bought.

"Several railroads have been undertaken with insufficient means, and the shareholders found themselves under the necessity of employing the income of the first years in improving the railroad, in building engine-houses, etc., and purchasing locomotives and cars. In consequence of this, the shareholders got, during that time, no dividends, but the railroad still yielded a good income. Other railroads, when finished, paid from five to ten per cent. income to the stockholders; others have not yet paid any dividends for want of a sufficient number of passengers and freight. The *average* result of the railroads now in operation in the United States is that they give a yearly interest of five and a half per cent. on the capital invested. This must be regarded as very satisfactory, because the greatest part of the lines have only been a few years in operation. On all lines there is a yearly increase of at least fifteen or twenty per cent. in the gross income, so that even those lines which do not pay now will give, in a few years, a handsome dividend. According to these statements, based on the communications collected in this country, I have no doubt that the large capital invested in railroads in the United States will

not only produce an incalculable benefit to the country but likewise pay the stockholders a dividend, which, under good management, by the constant progress in population and trade, must likewise from year to year increase."

We will next invite attention to the development of the mechanical department of the railroad before carrying the general history beyond the years above described.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[To be continued.]

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

HUGH J. JEWETT.

THE name of Hugh J. Jewett will be forever connected with the railroad history of America, not only because of the high position he held during troubled and trying times as the head of a great system, but for the qualities of courage, financial and executive genius, and conspicuous devotion to justice and right, by him therein displayed. That chapter of "Erie," in which his record is written, has never been duplicated in the record of any railroad corporation; and his successful efforts to meet villainy and beat it at every turn, and the triumphs of law and justice by him achieved, have done much to discourage like schemes upon the part of others. It was no fortunate chance by which he was selected for the great work he was to perform, as his past record was such as to designate him as the one man of all others to perform it, and the results gave justification to that choice.

Mr. Jewett was born in Harford county, Maryland, and until he was sixteen years of age lived with his parents upon the home farm, "Lansdowne," and in the same house which is now his summer home—working

on the farm as his services were demanded, and attending school, as occasion offered, in a small school building located on his father's farm. He was afterwards favored with two years at Hopewell academy, in Pennsylvania, after which he commenced the study of law in the office of Colonel John C. Groome, in Elkton, Cecil county, Maryland. He was admitted to the bar in 1838, and immediately became a part in the great tide of emigration setting in toward the west, feeling that in that direction the best chances in his profession for a young man were then offered. He first found a location in St. Clairsville, Ohio, where he remained until 1848, when, believing that Zanesville, of the same state, offered a wider field for his expanding powers, he removed to that city, where he continued to reside until his removal to the capital of the state. In both St. Clairsville and Zanesville he won unqualified success in his profession, and saw the way to the highest honors of public life opening before him, should he but elect to follow in that ambitious path. He was called to service in

both houses of the state legislature, and made therein a record that showed the sound timber of which he was made, and foreshadowed somewhat the sterling honesty and unflinching courage so conspicuous in the larger affairs of later years. When a member of the senate, he assumed and maintained the position that an adjourned session of the legislature was but an evasion of the provisions of the then newly adopted state constitution; and held his point with such vigor, aided by others of a like honesty of purpose, that that legislature has the conspicuous honor of being the only one which has assembled under the new constitution, which has not had an adjourned session. Subsequently, Mr. Jewett was a member of the lower house of the same body, which adjourned over until the next winter, as had become the custom, to hold substantially a second session under the one election. When any question came up which Mr. Jewett regarded as of interest to his constituents, or of special import to the people at large, he attended the sessions, but declined to receive, and never did receive, any compensation for his services in that session of the legislature—adhering to the position that in receiving such money he would be going contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

Another office of public honor held by Mr. Jewett, was that of district attorney for the southern district of Ohio, to which he was appointed by President Franklin Pierce. The duties of this important trust were fully and faithfully performed. He was appointed a delegate to the National Democratic convention that had for its purpose the renomination of General

Pierce or the selection of his successor as the standard-bearer of the party. When President Pierce determined to be a candidate for renomination, Mr. Jewett was anxious to do all that he could honorably in his aid; but not finding it within his sense of the fitness of things to support for renomination one at whose hands he held an appointment to office, he resigned his district attorneyship.

In 1860 Mr. Jewett was the nominee of the Democrats of the Zanesville district for congress; and, although he was defeated, he came within sixty votes of an election, although the ticket upon which he ran was defeated by some twelve or fifteen hundred. In 1861, when the Democrats of Ohio were looking about for their strongest man to use as a gubernatorial candidate, all eyes were turned toward Mr. Jewett; and in the State convention, held on August 7, he was nominated on the first ballot, by a vote of 295½ as against 75 for William Allen and 15½ for Stanley Matthews, now upon the United States supreme bench. The resolutions adopted by that convention were not satisfactory to Mr. Jewett, and his inclination was to decline the nomination. He was, however, induced by friends of both parties to accept, lest his declination and the nomination of another might result in some disturbances in the state. He accepted, finally, but upon his own platform; and in his letter of acceptance stated that, if elected, he would labor to strengthen the arm of the government in its conflict with those who were in rebellion against its authority. That letter shows his undeviating loyalty and support of the government, as the following ex-

pressive sentences, taken therefrom, most clearly show: "In one section of the country," he declares, "a rebellion exists—the laws of the land are put at defiance—the Union of the states ignored—the Constitution set aside, and another, at once the offspring of and apology for this rebellion, sought to be substituted in its stead. In the prosecution of their designs, the parties instigating and leading this rebellion have seized upon the property of the government, driven its officers and soldiers from their posts of duty, and by armed violence have sought to humiliate our flag and to overawe the government. . . . I would in no way weaken the arm of the government, in no way impair the efficiency of our army, but, on the contrary, as a matter of economy as well as humanity, I would impart vigor and energy to both, and with every peace-offering that should be the alternative of war or submission.

"Under no circumstances would I consent to a dissolution of the Union, or consider terms of separation."

As a matter of course, in the state of public feeling and the conditions then existing, the ticket was defeated. Yet Mr. Jewett was almost immediately given a new pledge of the confidence and respect of his party, being named for the United States senate in the election just following, by the Democrats of the legislature, and receiving their votes for that office. In the prosecution of the War for the Union, Mr. Jewett was an efficient worker upon the stump as elsewhere, being designated by Governor Todd, in company with Rufus P. Ranney, Henry B. Payne and other war Demo-

crats, to canvass the state and work public sentiment up to the required point.

Having made a removal of his residence to Columbus, the state capital, Mr. Jewett was, in 1873, elected to congress from that district; but during his term was elected president of the Erie Railroad company, and resigned his seat to assume the duties of that position. In later years, and after his noble efforts in the cause of justice and the law in connection with the Erie had been crowned with success and made him an enduring fame throughout the land, he was more than once named in connection with high office, and even the highest within the people's gift—especially in the Democratic National convention of 1880—it being well felt that one who had been so brave and faithful a steward in connection with one great trust, could safely be entrusted with another.

Mr. Jewett, in his early days of active labor in Ohio, was connected with the material prosperity of the state in various ways—at one time being president of the Muskingum Branch bank, and also a member of the board of control of the State Bank of Ohio. His connection with railroads commenced in 1857, when he was elected president of the Central Ohio Railroad company; and successively thereafter, of the Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley Railroad company; of the Little Miami Railroad company; of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad company; of the Chicago & Atlantic Railroad company, and vice-president of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad company, many of which positions he held when, in 1874, he accepted and assumed the duties of the presidency of the Erie Railroad

company. It was in the latter great position in which his chief railroad labor was performed; and the story of his work therein is of such great interest, and has so much to do with the railroad history of America, that it deserves to be related in full.

It was in July, 1874, that Mr. Jewett was chosen to the presidency of the company. The Erie from the first had been heavily weighted in the race with rivals. Pennsylvania favored and fostered her great line. The Baltimore & Ohio was the pet and protégé of Maryland. Whatever legislative care New York had to give, she reserved for her canals. Apart from lack of state aid the Erie suffered from internal weaknesses. Frequent changes of administration unsettled its policy and checked the growth, invaluable to a corporation of permanent methods and continuous traditions. While the Pennsylvania was under one rule for twenty-three years, the Baltimore & Ohio for twenty and the New York Central for fourteen, the Erie had in the shortest of those periods seven presidents, with attending mutations of boards, officers, theories and systems. Its immense capital stock, offering investors no dividends, fell a prize to foreign speculators and proxy peddlers. The two stronger New York and Pennsylvania companies between which its line lay fought their battles over its shoulders, forcing it into varying and always ruinous alliances. Spite of these burdens, the Erie was always an imperial property, and by reason of them it invited spoliation. It was a treasure-ship beset by pirates, and often manned by traitors.

In 1874 the company had just escaped from a government of rank scoundrelism, to fall under one of well-meaning nullity. It was dominated for the moment by James McHenry, a reckless international swindler, who tricked like Robert Macaire, and talked as Ananias would have done if there had been a stock exchange in Judea.

After eviscerating the Atlantic & Great Western company, he had bound its carcass on the back of Erie, and was at the time busied with a gang of London plunderers in selling twenty-five millions of Erie bonds and accounting for less than one-half of their par value.

Wholly unaware, when he took control, of these difficult conditions and disastrous complications, Mr. Jewett faced them resolutely when revealed. He shook off the Great Western incubus and took McHenry by the throat, throwing him and his confederates into the English courts, where, after some years, judgments were rendered against the chief for over a million and a half, while the accomplices gladly escaped exposure by payment of heavy sums in compromise. In pronouncing his decree, the master of the rolls branded McHenry's conduct and character with such stinging words as an English judge rarely permits himself to use.

Reconstruction necessarily followed; and in the course of the foreclosure proceedings which led to it, and in the development and application of the plan which completed it, Mr. Jewett, as receiver, held relations to the creditors, the stock-holders and the reorganizers of the company, which tested to the utmost his judgment,

energy, prudence and patience. Even a peaceable solution of the situation offered problems of the highest difficulty and delicacy. But every step encountered vehement opposition, sustained openly in the courts by the best legal talent, and covertly by slanderous abuse in the press. It was life or death to McHenry, who found no tool too low, no practice too base to grasp at. And when, after three years of desperate struggle, he retired defeated and the new corporation stood solidly founded, Mr. Jewett had won an honorable name as a leader, for courage, justice and power, among the great railroad managers of the country.

The sagacious and far-reaching plans for the restoration of the Erie company to its rightful place among the railroads of the country, which, during his receivership, Mr. Jewett projected with the consent and aid of the courts, he was enabled to expand and mature through the restored credit and public confidence that upheld the new corporation after he assumed its presidency. First of all he assured its stability by securing control for a term of years over its voting stock, and by obtaining legislation, then first granted in New York state, giving bond-holders also, through their votes, a share in its government.

Steadiness of policy and continuity in management being thus established, the next step was to improve the physical character of the machine to be operated. The broad gauge, inflicted on Erie by old-fashioned engineering ideas, hampered its work, doubling the cost of transfers and traffic connections. Its track was now brought into union with the general rail-

road system of the country, by laying an intermediate rail, retaining the old gauge also, until the equipment fitted to it should be worn out. The construction of this vital improvement was so skillfully managed that its heavy cost did not fall as a burden on the current revenues of the company.

Skirting the immense mineral deposits of Pennsylvania, the Erie is preëminent as a coal carrier. To enlarge its revenues from this source, by striking with new branches into the mining regions, and, further, to economize its fuel consumption through the ownership of coal properties had been the judicious scheme of an earlier administration. As the uncompleted project devolved upon Mr. Jewett, it was crushed by debt and tied up in legal embarrassments. In a few years his firm and steady management lifted the burden of debt from the enterprise, confirmed the company's control in strict accordance with Pennsylvania law, and consolidated and developed a splendid mining interest, richly tributary to its revenue. To this interest he afterwards added the Blossburg property and connected railways, bought in part with the Grand Opera house, thus exchanging a white elephant for black diamonds.

Meanwhile other enlargements of its capacity placed the road in a position to demand its full share of carrying trade from the granaries, ore beds and forests of the west. Full control was gained of the Union Steamboat company, placing under the Erie's command the finest fleet and best established business on the lakes; costly grain elevators were built at Buffalo and Jersey City; docks were pre-

pared for the coal trade at its lake outlet, and a large property fronting upon New York harbor was acquired and improved for the uses of live stock business.

During the period thus devoted to increasing the earning power of the road at points urgently demanding expansion, plans had not been neglected for strengthening its position through alliances with other companies. A few years after reorganization these had become developed in the form of essential connections. A new and advantageous lease was taken of the old Atlantic & Great Western, now the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio road; control was gained of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, leading to Cincinnati, and the project of a great tributary, the Chicago & Atlantic, took form and completion. So that within five years from the date of the creation of the new company, Mr. Jewett had succeeded, by the extension of its system of connections, in placing it in as commanding a position as that held by any of the great trunk lines, with regard to all important centres of business, except Saint Louis, within its natural territory, by means of an outlay of money very much less than that expended by other companies.

Even this outlay, however, could not have been afforded without some decrease of the company's fixed financial burdens. This was attained in part through the rejection or amendment of onerous contracts, and in a still greater degree by the extension, at lower rates of interest, of the three series of old mortgage bonds falling due during Mr. Jewett's term of office. The economy thus effected, of close upon a quarter of a million in the yearly drain

upon revenue, sensibly raised the credit of the company.

The mere statement of these results fails to convey any idea of the bold action, the sharp conflicts, the trials to patience, that attended their realization. The gravest strike known to our railroad history, that of 1877, fell heavily upon the Erie company. The fiercest war of rates the railroads ever waged, that of 1882, checked its prosperous course for a time. Self-defense forced costly litigation with the Delaware & Lackawanna company in 1881; and throughout the whole, beginning with the creation of the company and urged to the present hour, persisted the clamorous, peremptory, unreasoning demands of English stock-holders for instant returns upon their investments. The road may stop growing and thus cease earning, but they must have full interest on the par of what they buy for less than half.

Spite of these discouragements, Mr. Jewett devoted himself, at the sacrifice of health and comfort, to the task he had assumed, until he had lifted the Erie company from bankruptcy and prostration to an equal rank with that of any of the great corporations of the country. And after five years of his presidency, the market price of the company's new bonds had doubled; its common stock had risen from eleven to fifty; its preferred stock had earned three dividends, and its gross revenue had grown from less than sixteen millions in 1869 to nearly twenty-three millions in 1883.

It is not surprising that the continuous strain of such labors should have seriously impaired Mr. Jewett's health, which was

little benefited by a visit to Europe, undertaken in the interest of the company. A severe accident befalling him in 1875, forbade active exercise, and the resulting confinement, added to assiduous office work, withdrew him much from society. It was unfortunate that he thus lost the opportunity of cultivating close relations with leaders in finance in the city. After the death of the company's strongest supporter, Governor Morgan, early in 1883, the want of such connection was seriously felt, and much of the embarrassment that the company underwent in the last year of his

term may be traced to this involuntary isolation. He resigned the presidency in November, 1884, after completing the period of ten years intended in his own mind when he accepted it.

We have devoted much space to this sketch of Mr. Jewett's connection with the Erie company, because his best powers at the prime of life were engrossed by its charge, and because that chapter of its history forms an interesting part of the railroad annals of the country, while full justice has never been done to his share in it.

MAJOR JOHN WILSON.

James Wilson, an engineer and architect of Stirling, Scotland, left three sons: James, who was a planter in the island of Jamaica; Alexander, who settled as a merchant at Norfolk, Virginia, where some of his descendants are now residing; and John, who held a commission as lieutenant in the Seventy-first British foot (Highlanders), but served throughout the American Revolutionary war as an engineer under Major Moncrief of the Royal Engineers. He was severely wounded at the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, where he remained until the close of the war, having shortly previous thereto married a daughter of Dr. Robert Wilson, a prominent physician of that place. Lieutenant Wilson, some years after his marriage, was invalided and took up his residence at Stirling, where he died in the year 1798, leaving four children, among whom was John, the subject of this sketch. His widow, with her family, re-

turned to Charleston, her native place, in 1807.

John Wilson received the early part of his education at Stirling, but completed his studies at the University of Edinburgh, where he attended the classes of Professors Playfair, Leslie and Walker, who, upon his leaving Scotland, gave him kind and strong testimonials for character and ability.

Soon after his arrival at Charleston he entered upon the business of engineer and surveyor, most of which at that time consisted in the surveys of plantations and tracts of land. Among the matters engaging his attention was the execution of a map of South Carolina, under engagement with the state authorities, which is considered to this day standard authority for all but subsequent improvements. At an early period he was naturalized as a citizen of the United States, and when the war with Great Britain occurred in 1812, he

volunteered his services to the city as an engineer for the construction of works of defense. How those services were performed will be shown by the following copy of resolutions adopted by the city council after the close of the war :

“ State of South Carolina,

“ City of Charleston.

“ WHEREAS, during the late war with Great Britain, a board of commissioners was constituted by the city council to superintend the erection of the works of defense on Charleston Neck, in coöperation with Major-General Pinckney of the United States army, which board of commissioners did, with patriotic zeal and assiduity, sacrifice their personal ease and interests to the public welfare, and, as well in the construction of the line of fortifications as in the subsequent erection of a public arsenal, justified the confidence reposed in them, and faithfully and meritoriously served their country. And whereas the time has arrived when all the objects of their appointment being accomplished, the said board of commissioners are about to be dissolved, and some expression of public feeling is due towards those whose patriotic labors afford at once a permanent barrier of the city, and an honorable memorial to themselves, therefore,

“ *Resolved* unanimously by the intend-ant and wardens in city council assembled, that the thanks of the city of Charleston are due, and they are hereby presented, to the gentlemen composing the board of commissioners of fortifications.

“ *Resolved* unanimously that John Wilson, esquire, of this city, who, in the capacity of engineer, volunteered his services in planning and constructing the said works

of defense, and displayed in that arduous employment much scientific skill and personal disinterestedness, deserves well of the city of Charleston.

“ *Resolved* that the intendant be requested to enclose and address the above resolutions to the chairman of the board of commissioners, and to John Wilson, esq., and that certified copies of the same be sent to each member of the board of commissioners.



“ Given under my hand and the seal of the corporation, this first day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and in the fortieth year of American independence.

“ ELIAS HORRY, Intendant.

“ By the Intendant,

“ G. M. BONNETHEAU,

“ Clerk of Council.”

In April, 1816, John Wilson received from the secretary of war, without solicitation, a commission as major in the corps of United States topographical engineers, which he accepted with the understanding that he would be employed on the coast survey ; in fact, he received written instructions to that effect. In consequence, however, of the plans of the government not being sufficiently matured, or of a want of proper understanding between the departments, he subsequently received orders from General Jackson, at that time commanding the southern division of the army, to report at headquarters, Nashville, Tennessee. This change of duties not conforming to his expectations, he tendered his resignation in September following.

In December, 1817, the legislature of South Carolina established a board of public works and created the office of civil and military engineer of the state, which was filled by the appointment of Major Wilson in February, 1818. The objects which then engaged the attention of the board were the construction and repairs of the arsenals, court-houses, jails and other buildings belonging to or required by the state, and the improvement of the rivers for navigation. In performing the arduous duties attendant upon the latter branch of the service, Major Wilson contracted fever and ague, the severe attacks of which compelled him to resign his position in 1822. By spending the summers in a northern climate, his health was so far restored that he was enabled to attend to the business of his profession during the winter months in South Carolina. This condition of affairs, however, not being satisfactory, he removed his family, in 1826, to Philadelphia, which he adopted as his permanent residence.

The subject of internal improvements was beginning, at that time, to excite considerable attention in Pennsylvania, and an extensive system of surveys was inaugurated by the state government. To Major Wilson was assigned, in the summer of 1827, the duty of examining a route for a canal between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna rivers, through the counties of Chester and Lancaster, with instructions to report upon the expediency of constructing a railroad should the canal be deemed impracticable or unadvisable.

The difficulties of maintaining a canal through a limestone region with a scant

supply of water, taken in connection with recent developments in favor of railroads, induced Major Wilson to report against the adoption of a canal and to recommend the construction of a railroad.

An act of the legislature, approved March 24, 1828, authorized and directed the canal commissioners to locate and contract for the construction of certain canals, and to locate a railroad from Philadelphia, through the city of Lancaster, to Columbia, on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna river.

In April, 1828, Major Wilson commenced, at Columbia, the location of the railroad between that place and Philadelphia, with the following corps: Joshua Scott, principal assistant; Robert Pettit and John Edgar Thomson, assistant engineers; John P. Baily, Samuel W. Mifflin, William Hasell Wilson and I. Brinton Moore, rodmen; William J. Lewis, William W. Torbert, Joseph G. Davis and A. S. Green, chainmen—the last named of whom soon left the service and was succeeded by James Moore. The only survivors of this corps in 1888 are William Hasell Wilson, late chief engineer Pennsylvania railroad, and now president of the Philadelphia & Erie and some other railroads controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and James Moore, for some time chief engineer and general superintendent, and subsequently consulting engineer of the Central Railroad of New Jersey. Several of the above named became well known in after life; Robert Pettit, after some years' service as an engineer; entered the United States navy, where he rose to the rank of pay director; John Edgar Thomson be-

came the distinguished chief engineer and president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company; John P. Bailly served during the years 1836, 1837 and 1838 as chief engineer of the state of Pennsylvania; Samuel W. Mifflin had a large professional experience, being at one time chief engineer of the Huntingdon & Broad Top railroad; William J. Lewis, after being engaged for some years on various roads in the eastern states, removed to California, where he practiced his profession during the latter part of his life.

The location of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad was made in the year 1828, and the construction commenced in the year following. For want of liberal appropriations by the state, work progressed slowly for some time, but the road was completed with double track in 1834.

The passage of a law, authorizing the construction of this railroad by the commonwealth, met with serious opposition, and even after work had been commenced, it was for some time doubtful whether the project would not be abandoned. Under these circumstances, it was urged by the friends of the enterprise that as much economy should be used in the construction as was consistent with a due regard to the utility of the road when completed. Previous to the commencement of the location, it was necessary for the engineer to determine upon the governing principles, and in deciding upon these, recourse was had to the experience gained upon works of a similar kind in operation. It must be observed that this was in the year 1828, previous to the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester railway,

when there were but few railways in use and these of limited extent, with characteristics that at this day would be considered very crude. For some years previous, attention had been given to the subject of locomotive steam-engines, but the question of their adoption as a motive power, for general traffic upon railroads, was not definitely settled until October, 1829, when all doubts were removed by the successful results of the competitive trials upon the Liverpool & Manchester railway. The location of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad had, however, been made previous to that date, with a view to the use of horse-power, and the work of construction was in progress. By the time of its completion, in 1834, the rapid developments in the use of locomotive steam-engines had so fully demonstrated their superiority as a motive power, that they were introduced upon the road and the use of horses gradually discontinued.

While, for the reasons stated, the location was not as bold as would now be considered advisable, yet it was judiciously and skillfully made, and the work substantially executed. It must be remembered that at the time this road was constructed railroad science was in its infancy, and that the condition of the leading railroads of the present day is the result of a continued series of trials and experiments, extending over a period of more than fifty years. It is believed that there are but few contemporary roads that could compare with the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad, in either design or execution.

During the year 1830, the work on the



Wm. Hasell Wilson

road being nearly at a stand for want of appropriations, Major Wilson, with the consent of the canal commissioners, transferred the larger portion of his corps to New Jersey and made the location of the Camden & Amboy railroad. In the winter of 1832 his health became so impaired that, in the hope of deriving benefit from a southern climate, he proceeded to Florida and Cuba, but died in the harbor of Matanzas, on board of the vessel upon which he had embarked, homeward bound, in the hope of being

able to spend his last days with his family. As a man of fine ability, indefatigable industry and sterling integrity, Major Wilson's reputation was widely extended, while his amiable disposition and courteous and affable bearing won him the esteem of all who knew him. The work upon the railroad above described, which was well advanced at the time of his death—on February 27, 1833—was completed in the following year, according to the original plans.

WILLIAM HASELL WILSON.

William Hasell Wilson, son of Major John Wilson and Eliza Gibbes his wife, daughter of William Hasell Gibbes of Charleston, South Carolina, and his wife Elizabeth Allston, who was a half-sister of Washington Allston, painter and poet, was born at Charleston, November 5, 1811. He went to school at an early age, and took the English and classical courses, that were at that time considered essential as a foundation for a liberal education. He was a pupil of the Reverend Doctor Dickson, when he was appointed to a professorship in the Charleston college, upon its re-organization about the year 1823, and was transferred with most of Doctor Dickson's scholars to that institution, where he remained until the removal of his father's family from Charleston, in May, 1825. In November of that year he returned with his father to Charleston (the rest of the family remaining in Philadelphia), and resumed his position at the college.

In the spring of 1826 he left Charleston finally, pursuing his studies during the summer, as he had done in the preceding year, at the academy of Morristown, New Jersey, where the family spent the summer months of both years, returning in October to Philadelphia, which thenceforth became their permanent residence.

The high school of the Franklin institute had been, a short time previously, organized on the Lancastrian or monitorial system, with Mr. Walter R. Johnson as principal, at which, in November, 1826, W. H. Wilson took the position of tutor, being one of eight, among whom were included the late George L. Harrison, Charles Gilpin and John Warder, subsequently Doctor Warder of North Bend, Ohio. He remained at this school until June, 1827, when he joined as a volunteer the engineer corps then organized under his father for canal and railroad surveys through Chester and Lancaster counties, having for associates the late John Edgar

Thomson and Robert Pettit, the former of whom subsequently became chief engineer and president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and the latter, pay director in the United States navy. From the time of closing the surveys in the autumn, until the following spring, he pursued the studies of mathematics and drawing in Philadelphia.

In March, 1828, a large engineer corps was organized for the location of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad, in which W. H. Wilson served as rodman. During the years 1829 and 1830 he held the position of assistant engineer, in charge of construction on the eastern section of the road, the state having had twenty miles of roadway at each end of the line placed under contract. By the close of the year 1830, public opinion had become much more favorable towards the construction of the railroad, and the legislature, at their following session, made a large appropriation, and directed a vigorous prosecution of the work. Early in the year 1831 the grading and bridging of the middle portion of the road, as well as the superstructure on the eastern section, were placed under contract. The road was then divided into two parts, designated as eastern and western divisions, and the charge of the work on the former, comprising the forty miles westward from Philadelphia, was entrusted to W. H. Wilson, as principal assistant engineer, which position he held until its completion and the disbandment of the engineer corps in October, 1834. During the ensuing winter he made surveys for a proposed line of railroad between Downingtown, on the line of the Penn-

sylvania railroad, and the city of Reading. In the spring of 1835 he took charge, as principal assistant engineer under Messrs. Moncure and Wirt Robinson, of the final location and construction of the second division of the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, extending from a point a few miles east of Pottstown to Norristown. In June, 1838, the work under his care being nearly completed, he accepted from the canal commissioners the appointment of chief engineer of the "Gettysburgh Extension" of the state railroad, the grading of which was then in progress. The work upon this line, as well as upon most other portions of the state improvements, was suspended in the early part of the year 1839, and a depressed condition of business and financial affairs ensued that for several years checked the progress of any works of public improvement.

The prospect of satisfactory professional employment being very dull, Mr. Wilson, at the beginning of the year 1841, turned his attention to farming, in which, having become deeply interested, he continued until the close of the year 1858, being located for the first eight years in Haverford township, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, and subsequently in the vicinity of Downingtown, Chester county, same state; although for the last few years of the period he was more or less engaged in professional matters. During the summers of 1852 and 1853 he made extensive surveys for the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and located a line of railroad from Philadelphia, *via* Phoenixville and the French creek and Conestoga valleys, to a point on the Harrisburgh &

Lancaster railroad about eight miles west of Lancaster. The latter road was operated under lease by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and the construction of the new line above mentioned was contemplated for the purpose of affording the Pennsylvania company an independent route, in connection with their road west of Harrisburgh, free from the many annoyances attendant upon the use of the state railroad as a part of the through line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The subsequent sale of the state improvements, and the acquisition of the main line by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, put a stop to the proposed construction.

Early in the year 1854 Mr. Wilson took charge, as chief engineer, of the West Chester & Philadelphia railroad, then in progress. After the road was completed as far as Media and the grading and bridging thence to West Chester well advanced, work was suspended for want of funds, and he left the service at the end of the year 1855.

During the succeeding eighteen months, Mr. Wilson made a survey for a railroad between Norristown and Allentown; also one between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, through the southern part of Philadelphia, for the Pennsylvania Railroad company, in addition to making two trips to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, investigating railroad matters for the same company.

Upon the purchase of the main line of state improvements by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, he was appointed resident engineer of the railroad between Philadelphia and Columbia, and entered

upon his duties August 1, 1857. In the following year his division was extended to Mifflin, on the Juniata river, and in January, 1859, he was placed in charge of the entire line to Pittsburgh with its branches. This rendered necessary the abandonment of the farm and a change of residence to Altoona, which was the headquarters of the operating departments of the road.

The duties of the resident engineer included not only the care of the roadway, bridges and buildings, but the designing and supervision of all new constructions, surveys for branch lines, the purchase and management of real estate, and the furnishing of fuel and water for the motive power. All purchases of materials for the repair and construction of the works under his charge also devolved upon him for several years, until the organization of a purchasing department by the company. In 1862 his title was changed to chief engineer. He was assisted by an "engineer of bridges and buildings" and three "resident engineers," who had charge respectively of the Philadelphia division, from Philadelphia to Harrisburgh, the Middle division, from Harrisburgh to Altoona, and the Pittsburgh division, thence to Pittsburgh.

The constantly increasing duties of the maintenance of way, together with the large amount of construction work devolving upon the engineer department, had, by the close of the year 1867, accumulated to such an extent as to render a division of labor necessary. A department of construction was accordingly organized to take charge of new work, which went into operation on January 1,

1868, under W. H. Wilson as "chief engineer of construction," with headquarters at Philadelphia. The maintenance of way remained under the general superintendent of transportation as a separate department, and John A. Wilson, who had been for several years chief engineer of the Philadelphia & Erie railroad, was appointed "chief engineer of maintenance of way."

During the succeeding six years a very large amount of new work was constructed, to provide increased facilities for the growing business of the company, embracing passenger, freight, water and coaling stations, additional tracks, new car-shops, piers and coal-shutes at Greenwich, on the Delaware river, and the straightening of several miles of road on the Philadelphia division. During the same period the construction department had charge of a considerable amount of new work on the Philadelphia & Erie and the Lewisburg Centre County & Spruce Creek railroads.

The financial troubles in the latter part of the year 1873 caused a suspension of all new work, with the exception of finishing up what was near completion, and at the end of the year the engineer department was discontinued. The maintenance of way department had been abolished a few years previous, so that from the commencement of the year 1874 all engineering operations upon the company's lines came under the direction of the general manager, who was provided with an engineer assistant. The general superintendent of each grand division and the several division superintendents, also had each an assistant engineer.

In November, 1873, W. H. Wilson was elected president of the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad company, but was continued in the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, with the title of consulting engineer, for the purpose of closing up the work previously under his charge, and completing the maps and records of the road. In July, 1874, he resigned the presidency of the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad company, and was placed at the head of a new department of the Pennsylvania Railroad company entitled the "Real Estate Department," retaining the title of consulting engineer. This department was entrusted with the charge of all the real estate on the lines owned and controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, as far as regarded the completion and arrangement of maps and records; the supervision and custody of deeds, leases, etc., etc.; the receipt and payment of rents, and the adjustment and settlement of taxes, together with such other matters as pertained to making the department a complete bureau of the real estate of the company. The large amount of detail involved in arranging and systematizing the business of the department required close and constant attention, but, for the first year or two, there was, fortunately, little new work coming in; after that time, the gradually improving condition of the country from the depression of 1873 led to extensions and improvements of existing lines and the construction of new roads, requiring the acquisition of real estate, and consequently adding materially to the work of the department.

In March, 1884, Mr. Wilson left the real estate department, having been



Wm. A. Rhy

elected president of the Philadelphia & Erie, the Belvidere Delaware, the Philadelphia & Trenton and some other railroad companies controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, which positions he still holds.

W. H. Wilson's three sons, John A., Joseph M. and Henry W., graduated as civil engineers at the Rensselaer Poly-

technic institute, Troy, New York, and after serving for several years in prominent positions on the Pennsylvania and other railroads, are now associated as the firm of Wilson Brothers & Company, civil engineers and architects, being the fifth generation in direct succession in the same profession.

JAMES M. OAKLEY.

The late James Madison Oakley of Jamaica, New York, was so well known all through the state because of his public and official labors, that his work as a railroad man, although important and of a character that required energy, executive ability and genius of management, was somewhat overlooked. In the many-sided character of the man, there was room for a diversity of labors; and in his case can be said what cannot in many cases, that whatever his hand undertook to do was well and faithfully done. He was reared amid active scenes, and his life was one of intense activity and only too early ended. He was born in New York city on June 19, 1838, the son of J. M. and Frances Smith Oakley. He was seven years of age when his father died, his mother subsequently marrying Richard W. Smith of Coram, Suffolk county. The boy was educated in the common schools, his first public labor being that of assistant postmaster at Coram, while yet a youth. During the War of the Rebellion, the government established a provost marshal's office in Jamaica, and a position therein was given to young Oakley, who filled it to the

entire satisfaction of the government. He gained in popularity as he grew in years, and in the spring of 1870 was elected chief engineer of the Jamaica fire department; and in the fall of the same year was advanced still further in the line of public promotion by an election on the Democratic ticket as member of the general assembly for the Second district of Queens county, having to contend with George Everett, the Republican candidate, and Francis B. Baldwin, a Democrat. Mr. Oakley was elected to the assembly five consecutive times. In 1875 he was a candidate for the nomination for state senator, but was defeated by Stephen D. Stephens of Richmond, who was in turn defeated in the election by L. Bradford Prince, the Republican nominee. In 1876 Mr. Oakley was appointed by Governor Robinson to the position of quarantine commissioner, in which office he ably served the people of the state for three years. He never relinquished the hope of having the honor to fill a seat in the senate of New York; and in 1877 his party was obliged to nominate him as the only means of wresting the district from the

Republicans. Mr. Prince declined a re-nomination, and the Republicans named James Otis as their standard-bearer. The result was the triumphant election of Mr. Oakley by a majority of more than twenty-five hundred, which was considered a wonderful victory, as Mr. Otis was a man of no small popularity. Mr. Oakley retired from the senate to engage in a railroad enterprise of his own conception, and was only once again a candidate for office, that of the nomination of his party for congress, but was defeated in the convention by Honorable Perry Belmont by only a few votes. He gave Mr. Belmont a loyal and effective support.

The New York, Woodhaven & Rockaway railroad, running from Brooklyn and Long Island City, through Woodhaven and across Jamaica bay, to the famous old beach, was planned and carried to a successful issue by Mr. Oakley. The road was organized in 1877, and he was chosen one of its directors, being advanced to the presidency in 1881, which office he held until his death. His management of the line was such as to secure the praise and thanks of stockholders and the public, his course therein being such as to suggest for him a high position in railroad affairs had his life been spared and his energies fully turned in that direction. An evidence of his capability in that line of labor is found in the fact that his name was suggested to President Cleveland, by Congressman Belmont, in connection with the Inter-state Commerce commission; but Mr. Oakley, while thanking Mr. Belmont for his kind consideration, asked that his name be withdrawn. Of his railroad work in connection with the above road,

it was well said by a distinguished gentleman at the time of his death: "He was elected to the position of president by a large number of stockholders in New York city—men of prominence in Wall street, large financiers—because of his peculiar adaptability for the position. The road was at its lowest ebb, and he has succeeded in rescuing it from absolute bankruptcy, and has managed it to the entire satisfaction of all the stockholders and to all those who were interested in the road." Or, as the resolutions of respect and sympathy, adopted by the board of directors of the road, declare: "His devotion to the best interests of this company was constant and unwearied, and we feel the loss of his services to be irreparable."

Mr. Oakley was interested in other enterprises at various times of his life, serving as a trustee of the village of Jamaica, organizing the Rod and Rifle association, and always contributing to its maintenance and taking a deep interest in its welfare. He was married on February 4, 1869, to Miss Hester A. Durland, a daughter of ex-Sheriff William Durland of Jamaica. The title of colonel, by which he was generally known, was honorary, having been conferred upon him by Governor S. J. Tilden, under the powers belonging to that official.

Prior to his death, Mr. Oakley had not been in good health for several months. In January, 1887, he went south with several friends, but gained no apparent benefit from the trip. He suffered from dyspepsia and a severe cold, which in March developed into pneumonia. On the morning of March 30 he found great difficulty in breathing, and complained of

excessive pain in the region of the heart. Paralysis was even then developing, and in fifteen minutes death suddenly came and ended the life of one of the most useful and popular men upon Long Island. He was followed to the tomb by almost the entire community, with many eminent friends from New York city and elsewhere, and many were the expressions of public and private sympathy extended to the stricken wife and friends. From these many tributes we quote but two as indicative of the tenor of them all, and of the character of the man in whose memory they were uttered :

"No recent death in Jamaica has been so deeply and widely felt as that of James M. Oakley, and it may be well to inquire into the reasons for the general and genuine grief shown by the community. Mr. Oakley had lived in the village for twenty-five years or longer, and was well known to everyone, but the same could be said of many others. He had been much in public life, but not more than other citizens who preceded him to the grave. He was at no time an orator or writer, nor was he ever a man of wealth. His popularity must be accounted for in some other way, and we think we make no mistake when we attribute it first to his uniform good-nature and pleasing manners, and secondly to the unfailing generosity and sympathy of his genial nature. A man may hold the highest offices and yet have no hold upon the popular heart. He may be a good citizen and good politician, and yet be far removed from the people. He may be rich in this world's goods and yet ignorant of all that constitutes charity and every-day good-will for, and interest in,

his fellows. Happily James M. Oakley was both gentle and generous ; ever ready to oblige and to assist. He well illustrated the fact that a man may be an office-holder without putting aside courtesy or patience ; a partisan without being illiberal, and that he may be generous without having riches. The latter point is one that most men misunderstand. How common it is to hear the expression, 'I cannot afford to do this or do that,' as though benevolence consisted only in making a large outlay of money and could be enjoyed by the wealthy alone. The mistake is a serious one, for it not only blunts the better impulses of the individual, but it also deprives the community of many of the modest and unpretentious acts of charity which gladden the hearts of the unfortunate and go far to smooth the asperities and trials of life. Without large means, Mr. Oakley, having the disposition, was able, quietly and constantly, in various ways, to help those in need ; to carry sunshine to hearts and homes, and by so doing to reap a reward of good-will while living, and to be honored and mourned in his death. His example, in this respect, should be of lasting value to his fellow-citizens and is alone sufficient to account for the warm place he had secured in the affections of the people ; for while the world does not practice charity as it should, it will not and cannot deny that 'the truly generous is the truly wise ; and he who loves not others lives unblest.' "

Or, as was said by another : "Few men were as beloved by the people. He had a heart as tender as a woman's, and big enough to sympathize with the misfortunes that befell the community. He was

never so happy as when assisting his friends and making life pleasanter for those who laid their woes at his feet. He gave away much in charity, but made no boast of it. It was a great pleasure for him to be able to assist young men to rise in the world, especially those whose birthright and social position gave them no preference in the lottery of life. Colonel Oakley, himself, came up from the ranks of the common people. Few men in public life have been more steadfast in their friendships and more forgiving of their enemies than Colonel Oakley. It was an impossibility for him to harbor a grudge, and we do not believe it can be said truthfully that he ever conspired to work an injury to his fellow-man. From the heated contentions of the political campaign he always emerged, whether in victory of defeat, smiling and with pleasant references to the opposition. He was never defeated in an election. Always a Democrat, he

was a leader by instinct and correctly estimated the value of personal fidelity. He was cautious and far-seeing, rarely at fault in his calculations, and a general in planning and executing the work of a campaign. His greatest energies and best abilities were always employed in behalf of his friends, and how many Democratic nominees he saved from the ignominy of defeat it is not necessary to recount here and now. The Democrats have lost their most sagacious leader, Jamaica has lost a son who was altogether lovely in his life, Queens county has lost a citizen whom her people delighted to honor, and the state of New York has lost a servant who served the public interests honestly and zealously. Colonel Oakley was peculiarly happy in his domestic relations, and his home was notable for the charm of its elegance and hospitality. He leaves a widow, but no children."

KANSAS AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

THERE is no spectacle in the constitutional history of our country more remarkable, or in the light of subsequent events more astonishing, than that which the National conventions of the Whig and Democratic parties presented in 1852, when they passed resolutions declaring the famous compromise of 1850 a finality. This compromise attempted to settle the conflict between slavery and freedom by a series of concessions. It stipulated that the Fugitive Slave law should remain in force ; that California should be received

as a free state ; that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia ; that Utah and New Mexico should be admitted into the Union, when the proper time came, on the basis of popular sovereignty. The measure awakened great enthusiasm. In congress and outside of it there seems to have been a wide-spread feeling that the great controversy, which had disturbed the Nation so profoundly, was now happily and permanently composed. Douglass announced in 1851 his determination "never to make another



Engr'd by R. Dudensticht

Very truly yours
C. Robinson

speech upon the slavery question," and added that he did not believe there would be any occasion for it. "I am heartily tired of the controversy," he continued, "and I know the country is disgusted with it, . . . is acquiescing in the compromise measures—everywhere, north and south." Both of the great political parties caught up this strain of felicitation and vied with each other in eulogizing the so-called finality. In the Whig convention at Baltimore in 1852, Rufus Choate made an impassioned and brilliant speech in defense of the adjustment of 1850. "Let him who doubts, if such there be, whether it was wise to pass these measures," he exclaimed, "look back and recall with what instantaneous and mighty charm they calmed the madness and anxiety of the hour. How every countenance everywhere brightened and elevated itself. How in a moment the interrupted and parted currents of fraternal feeling reunited." Yet in less than two years, and in the face of all this felicitation, the Kansas-Nebraska bill appeared in congress, the whole question of slavery, both on its ethical and its practical side, was reopened, and then ensued a prolonged and violent discussion, which finally resulted in a formal enunciation of the doctrine of popular sovereignty as the principle which must be recognized in organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

How did it happen that the peace which the compromise of 1850 was intended to secure, and which many of the most distinguished statesmen of the period thought would be permanent, should prove so short-lived? Who is responsible for this sudden revival of the agitation? It is

hardly necessary to say, as the fact is understood pretty generally, that elements of uncertainty in regard to the interior history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill still exist. If we adopt the views of Alexander Stephens as set forth in his 'War Between the States,' the whole matter is simple and perspicuous enough. He says that the compromise of 1850 was established on the theory of no constitutional restriction in the common domain; that this principle was the cardinal feature of the adjustment, and that all the associated measures were of secondary importance. When the question of the admission of Kansas and Nebraska to the Union came up, it was inevitable, if the spirit of the compromise were maintained, that their domestic affairs should be determined by the principle of popular sovereignty rather than by the rule of arbitrary geographical allotment between the north and the south. If the scope and intent of the adjustment were misunderstood to any considerable extent, the mistake is to be regretted certainly, but it does not alter the facts.

The question, however, has another side, which has been presented by various historical writers, among whom Von Holst is one of the latest and ablest. According to their view, the Kansas-Nebraska agitation was a piece of political demagoguery planned in the interest of personal and party schemes. They regard it merely as a trick by which a few unprincipled men, chiefly from the north, hoped to reap a large harvest of prestige and office through their notable service to the south, in opening fresh fields to her social institutions. And it is true that, at the outset, the south was comparatively indifferent to

the measure. "Let the Nebraska bill be rejected to-morrow," said the *New Orleans Bee* during the discussion, "and the south will sleep quite as sound at night as before."

. . . Of the tremendous excitement of 1850 there is not a scintillation left." The men who carried the measure through congress protested loudly that they were acting in the interest of harmony. When the great principle of non-intervention should be definitely and unmistakably adopted, they foresaw an era of peace and good feeling such as the finality orators assured the country had come already. "Withdraw the slavery question from the halls of congress," said Douglass, "and such a catastrophe as the dissolution of the Union can never happen."

But, however indifferent the south may have been to the fortunes of the Kansas-Nebraska bill during the progress of the debate, that feeling passed away entirely when it became a law. It was then regarded as an affair of no secondary importance, since it emphasized the fact of southern supremacy and of northern subservience. The bill originated in the north, received very substantial support from that quarter, and that was agreeable to southern pride. It was a pledge of good behavior and administered a much-needed rebuke to the rather troublesome broods of anti-slavery agitators which had appeared here and there throughout the north. "Abolition, a lawless, rude, vulgar, Cyclopean monster," said the *Richmond Enquirer*, "lies prostrate for the time, with mangled limbs and rayless eye, the contempt and scorn of every honest man."

For the purposes which I have in view it is immaterial whether we adopt Steph-

ens' statement or that of his opponents. I am concerned with the effect of the Kansas Nebraska bill, with the practical working of it when put to the test of actual experiment, rather than with the tangle of intrigues in which its origin and passage through congress are involved. And perhaps the most surprising feature of the whole affair is that neither the friends nor the foes of this bill, with the possible exception of Mr. Seward, were able to forecast the consequences of it. They did not dream that it would prove to be one of the most disruptive and far-reaching legislative measures of the nineteenth century.

While there was some dissent, and it would be easy to cull from the speeches of congressmen opinions to the effect that Kansas was unsuited to servile labor and, therefore, could never become a slave state, yet it was the general sentiment in Washington and elsewhere that the natural and inevitable consequence of repealing the compromise of 1820 would be to extend the area of southern institutions. In western Missouri, which this measure affected more vitally than any other state, there was no apprehension of disaster. At least, ex-Senator Atchison, who was the master-spirit of the pro-slavery faction on the border, thought it would be easy to capture the territory. He had resided in the frontier counties of Missouri for twenty-five years, had seen service in the state militia, in the judiciary, in the legislature and in the senate of the United States. He was a man of very considerable force and with many attractive qualities. Though often rough and savage in speech, he was at heart

generous and kindly. General Stringfellow once said to me that during the struggle for Kansas, whatever severity there may have been in Atchison's plans, he always relented when the time came to put them into execution. I met him in the autumn of 1884. He was living at Gower, Missouri, in complete seclusion from the world. At the conclusion of the War for the Union he retired to his farm—a magnificent tract of rolling prairie containing one thousand six hundred acres—and for twenty years he scarcely left it. He intended to publish his version of the border history from 1854 to 1861, but his house was destroyed by fire in 1870, and all the papers and memoranda which he had collected for the purpose were consumed. He claimed to be the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and I presume with good reason, though the matter is somewhat in doubt. But about one point there is no uncertainty—with the Missouri Compromise out of the way, he thought that Kansas would fall an easy prey to the south.

In the sequel both sides were surprised. The hopes of slave propagandists and the fears of abolitionists proved alike groundless. What overlooked factor in the problem vitiated all the computations—played memorable havoc with the crafty schemes of sectional intrigue? It was nothing more nor less than organized emigration. The appearance in the field of northern societies, chartered and equipped for the exclusive purpose of establishing free-labor colonies in Kansas, was a portentous event for which the southern managers were totally unprepared. The astonishment of Macbeth, when he saw the

murdered Banquo seated among the feast, was scarcely greater. Nothing could reveal this astonishment more fully or emphatically than the almost frantic denunciations with which they were greeted. It would be easy to fill pages with these anathemas. Douglass' savage tirade has been quoted often. Senator Clay of Alabama said that Emigrant Aid societies were "a demonstration of hostility to the south more offensive and inexcusable than any former legislative action by any northern state. . . . It was the first crusade against slavery, initiated, organized and prosecuted under the auspices of a state." Senator Green of Missouri, who succeeded Douglass as chairman of the committee on territories, expressed substantially the same sentiments when he reviewed the situation of the country and the causes that had led to it, just before the outbreak of the Civil war, in 1861. The movement revealed to the south its weak point. With the incumbrances that formed so essential an element of its civilization, with its inferior facilities for travel, it could not compete successfully for the great prize. "For every southern man who goes to Kansas," said representative Smith of Alabama in the debates of 1856, "there will be from the north two free-soilers and four foreigners." That Douglass and his associates should not have forecast these possible consequences of their schemes, shows either that they were smitten with the madness which sometimes precedes destruction, or that they put a paltry valuation upon the sincerity and energy of the north. It soon became evident that a sleeping giant had been awakened. There was a sudden

bloom of activities that long had been gathering strength. Chartered companies, with large monied capital and the definite mission of establishing an anti-slavery population in Kansas, became a prominent feature of the period. The south, and particularly the people of western Missouri, had occasion for alarm. On the border, where conflagrations are kindled easily, there was a tremendous excitement. I suppose that Representative Oliver did not overstate the matter when he said in a speech on the seventh of March, 1856, "My people . . . were roused to an indignation that knew no bounds."

In this grave emergency something must be done. The situation was sufficiently embarrassing for the pro-slavery leaders. For the policy which was adopted I suppose Atchison mainly to have been responsible. Stringfellow was careful to keep clear of all the various suffrage experiments in Kansas. Now, this policy, at least in the peculiar phase which it assumed, was a blunder, and ought to have been fatal instantly. Atchison and his associates assumed that the managers of the northern societies would pay little attention to legal technicalities—that they would send men into the territory, not as genuine settlers, but as temporary voters merely. The people of Missouri, taking it for granted, according to Mr. Oliver, that northern immigrants would vote illegally, asked to be allowed the same privilege. And that privilege they took very freely on the thirtieth of March, 1855, and at other times. No more extensive and unblushing examples of stuffing the ballot-box can be found in the history of

popular suffrage. Indeed, so notorious were the frauds that, for the most part, the champions of slavery in congress admitted the fact, and set up a defense of palliations. I have not forgotten that Senator Geyer of Missouri, in a speech on the eighth of April, 1856, claimed that "the large accession of population in March, 1855, was composed of people who belonged to Kansas, and had wintered in Missouri, Indiana and Ohio. They came back earlier than they otherwise would have done, in consequence of the order of an election at that extraordinary season. Some of them were obliged to go back to the state of Missouri after the election and seek the hospitalities of the people of that state; so that there is nothing in the fact of their going over or coming back to justify the allegation that they were not legal voters in Kansas." Douglass caught at this subterfuge, but the report of the congressional investigating committee in July, 1856, utterly destroyed its usefulness. None of the apologists for Missouri get beyond what the latest of them calls "*a tu quoque* argument." "Certainly if a company of so-called northern emigrants," says Mr. Carr in his 'History of Missouri,' "in which there were two hundred and twenty-five men and only five women, whose 'wagons contained no visible furniture, agricultural implements or mechanical tools,' . . . were considered *bona fide* settlers, and were permitted to vote, there could not have been a sufficient reason for ruling out any band of Missourians who ever crossed the border and declared their intention of remaining, even though they left the next day." This particular company is an unfortunate illustration for Mr. Carr's

purposes, as it would be easy to show that most of its members became permanent citizens of Kansas. And in general it may be said that the officers of the Northern Emigrant Aid companies—and especially those of the Boston organization—were scrupulous to observe all the technicalities of law. Mr. A. A. Lawrence makes an entry in his diary to the effect that he had taken the best legal advice in New England in reference to the whole subject. The Missouri managers were largely lawyers, but evidently they did not consult the statutes very much when they mapped out their policy.

Atchison's mistakes, however, were matched, and the disastrous consequences to the Missouri cause, which ought to have followed upon them, neutralized, at least in part, by the unfortunate policy of Reeder, the first territorial governor. He made an unpardonable blunder in declining to set aside the entire election, and to order a new one under restrictions which would have rendered wholesale frauds impossible. The election of March, 1855, was not an affair involved in any sort of obscurity. Everybody who lived on the border understood the facts. Reeder knew them perfectly when he opened the returns at Shawnee Mission in the presence of a gang of Missourians and two or three wagon-loads of men from Lawrence, all armed to the teeth. He had received no fresh information when, a few months later, he delivered his fiery free-state harangue at Big Springs. I confess I sympathize with a brilliant representative of Maryland in the Thirty-third congress—Henry Winter Davis—who denounced

President Pierce because he failed to select a man for the post of governor that "knew border life, whose head would not be dizzy at the flash of steel, . . . who would have seen to it that the great tourney between the champions of freedom and slavery was fairly fought, with equal wind and sun, and with a truncheon swayed by no partiality." Reeder was a man of ability, and meant to deal fairly with all parties; but, a stranger to the frontier, and not particularly well furnished to cope with it in any event, it is not strange that his administration ran a brief and troubled career. His position was a very difficult one, and success would not have been easy whoever had occupied the executive office. The experiences of his immediate successors—all of them able men—show plainly enough that the position was no sinecure. Shannon was denounced in congress as "one of the most detestable characters in America," though the citizens of Lawrence, among whom he spent his later years, found him to be worthy of the highest respect, honor; and within six months from the day of his arrival, Geary fled from the territory in fear of his life. A firm stand at the beginning would have averted many of these subsequent complications and abridged the period of disorder. Men equal to the emergency may not have been abundant, yet they probably could have been found. Mr. Winter Davis thought there were Democrats within the sound of his voice who would not have been wanting, "who would have cut off their right hand rather than allow the violent overthrow of the law they were ordered to execute—whose cheek would

burn with shame at the unchecked insolence with which Governor Reeder's authority was derided or eluded."

Reeder's course left the free-state cause in an uncomfortable plight. It legalized technically the frauds of the March election—put the entire governmental machinery of the territory into the hands of the Pro-slavery party. Nothing that efficient patronage and intrigue could do to advance its interests would be lacking. The judiciary and the governorship were not elective. Only the legislature could be reached through the ballot, and that after the lapse of two years. Judged by the ordinary calculations of political cause and effect, the chances were that this formidable pro-slavery combination would crush speedily the handful of northern immigrants who stood for freedom. It is not my purpose to follow the successive movements—I have attempted that task elsewhere—by which the Missouri faction was foiled; the territorial legislature wrested from its grasp, and an anti-slavery civilization established in Kansas. I desire at the present time simply to call attention to the importance of the struggle as related to the evolution of our political history.

Now, the border fight touched the National life vitally at two points. In the first place, it was a large factor in the creation of the Republican party. From 1854 to 1858 Kansas was the foremost theme in the world of our politics. It was the subject of interminable debates in congress. The discussion upon the Lecompton constitution alone—a single item in the vast account—fills more than nine hundred pages of the *Congressional*

Globe. In the Presidential election of 1856 it was the chief source of material and inspiration for northern stump orators. Speakers fresh from the territory took a prominent part in the campaign. Governor Robinson spoke in New York, Brooklyn, New Haven and elsewhere. Lane made addresses in Chicago and various western cities, while Wood, Emery, Smith, Conway, not to mention others, did effective service. Kansas presented issues which gathered up all the essential principles of the two civilizations that were struggling for the mastery of the continent. These issues had all the breadth, perpetuity and fascination requisite for the foundation of a great political organization. The old parties could not grapple with them successfully, and quickly went to pieces. Other agencies, doubtless, had a hand in the reconstruction that followed, but none were so immediately and directly concerned as the Kansas struggle.

In the second place, there can be no question that it precipitated secession. The southern leaders—at least those who were on the border—knew very well that the loss of Kansas would be a serious, if not fatal, blow to the slave system. This is the burden of an address which Atchison, Stringfellow and others issued in the summer of 1856. In the circular of the Lafayette Emigration society and in private letters we find the same urgent, wistful appeal. It was clear to these men that not only the domestic institutions of Missouri were at stake, but that the control of the vast interior regions of the country was involved as well. They regarded the contest, says Mr. Carr in his 'Missouri,' as "the last peaceful struggle

that the south could make upon this issue with any prospect of success. . . . If, with all the advantages which the proximity of Missouri to Kansas gave them, they could not secure that territory to their interest, it needed no prophet to tell them . . . that hereafter, so far as slavery was concerned, they would have to fight not for its extension into new territories, but for its existence even in those states in which it had the sanction of law."

It is doubtful whether the importance of the fight for Kansas, and the relation which it sustains to the destruction of southern civilization, are as yet fully appreciated. Time alone reveals the significance and magnitude of events. If we should measure history by standards of pomp and circumstance; if we should apply to it tests of numbers and reputation, the conventions at Lawrence and Grasshopper Falls and Big Springs, the sessions of the amateur state legislature at Topeka and the almost bloodless campaign on the Wakarusa might appear, one and all, to have been insignificant matters. Very different, however, is the impression when we trace the effect of these episodes of the frontier upon the destiny of the

Republic. I am confident that their importance and criticalness are likely to be increased rather than diminished by the historical rectifications and revaluations which are already in progress. The anti-slavery men, to whom was committed the cause of liberty in Kansas, stood at the parting of two ways in the destiny of our country. What they did and suffered set the currents of civilization toward freedom. If they had failed; if the great Mediterranean territory west of Missouri had been linked with the south, it is impossible to say what altered destiny would have befallen the Nation. But it needs no far-sighted vision to perceive that in such an event the date of emancipation and of the triumph of free institutions would have been deferred to some uncertain period in the future. These citizens of the frontier were fortunate in their opportunities—they fell upon a time of transition when great revolutions were stirring. It was a time in which impulses and directions could be imparted that make epochs and settle the fate of many generations to come. And it is no small praise to say that they proved themselves equal to the occasion.

LEVERETT W. SPRING.

OMAHA.

III.

AT the time of giving name to Council Bluffs (August, 1804), Captain Lewis declared that the situation of the place was exceedingly favorable for a fort and trading factory, as the soil was well calculated for bricks and there was an abundance of wood in the neighborhood. The air, he said, was pure and healthy. It was central to the chief resorts of the Indians: one day's journey from the Otoes; one and a half from the Great Pawnees; two days' from the Mahas, and two and a quarter from the Pawnee Loups. It was, he affirmed, convenient to the hunting-grounds of the Sioux and twenty-five days' journey to Santa Fé.*

The ceremonies of the council, which was held by Lewis and Clark with the Otoes, being ended, the party set sail up the Missouri on the afternoon of the fourth of August. There had been white traders in the vicinity, for a deserted trading-house, on what is now the Nebraska side of the river, was described, where one of the party had passed two years in trafficking with the Mahas. It will be seen, therefore, that this locality was then the hunting-ground of the tribe just named (and it even extended farther down the

Missouri). But, as will be presently shown, the homes, properly so-called, of the Mahas ("Omahas")—the place where they had their cabins and wigwams—was on what was then (1804) known as "Maha Creek," a considerable distance up the Missouri and on what is now the Nebraska side of the Missouri.

It is only necessary in this connection to state that Captain Lewis, in an endeavor to find the Maha Indians, who, he supposed, were at their ancient village, a considerable distance above the present site of Omaha, proved abortive. Their town had, at one time, consisted of three hundred cabins. It was now a desolation. It had been burned four years previous, because of the mortality caused among its inhabitants by the small-pox, four hundred men and a large number of women and children having died of the disease. "The accounts," says the journal of the expedition, "we have had of the effects of the small-pox on that nation are most distressing. It is not known in what way it was first communicated to them. . . . They had been a military and powerful people, but when these warriors saw their strength wasting before a malady which they not could resist, their frenzy was extreme. They burnt their village, and many of them put to death their wives and children to save them from so cruel an affliction, and that all might go together to some better country." The precise spot of their

*There is a diversity of opinion as regards the locality, described in Lewis and Clark's journal, which was named by them "Council Bluffs." I have purposely avoided entering upon a discussion of the subject, as it is not pertinent to this history. This much may be said, however, that the "Council Bluffs" of to-day is not identical with that of Lewis and Clark.

old-time village was near three forks of the "Maha Creek," spoken of by Lewis in such a way as to imply that it had received that name before the visit of the party; and it is still so called; that is, it is known as "Omaha Creek." The location of the town was in what is now Omadi township, at or near the present post-hamlet of Homer, in Dakota county, Nebraska, and very nearly in latitude forty-two degrees thirteen minutes north, as determined by solar observation at the time of the visit of the explorers, whose journey we are now considering.

Captain Lewis, not having succeeded in finding the Mahas, moved on up the Missouri; crossed, with his party, the Rocky mountains, and finally reached the Pacific ocean. He returned down the Missouri in 1806.

It was a number of years subsequent to this before the general government held treaties with the Indians in this region; finally, one was held with the Pawnees, on the fifth of January, 1812; one with the Iowas and Mahas (after called "Omahas") on the twenty-sixth of December, 1815; and one with the Otoes just two years from that date. In all these treaties, the various tribes acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and that there should be perpetual peace between them and the Americans.

Other explorations and voyages up the Missouri followed, at different periods, after that of Lewis and Clark, notably that of Major Stephen H. Long, in 1819, under orders from John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war of the United States. The party were to go in the steamboat *Western Engineer*, belonging to the gov-

ernment. The principal object of the enterprise was a topographical survey of the country visited. The steamer was the first one to ascend the Missouri above where Kansas City is now located. A position nearly identical with what is now the town of Fort Calhoun, in the southeastern part of the present county of Washington, Nebraska, was selected for his winter-quarters, by Major Long, on the seventeenth of September, and, in a few days, great progress had been made in cutting timber, quarrying stone and in other necessary work. A fort was, in June, 1821, established here and named "Fort Atkinson," afterward changed to "Fort Calhoun." It was vacated in 1827.

Major Long's party remained at their quarters during the winter of 1819-20, obtaining much valuable knowledge of the country and of the various Indian tribes of the region. In 1820 the major struck across the country to the Pawnee villages, then on the Loup Fork of the Platte, passing on to the mountains; thence to the head of the Arkansas river; reaching, finally, on his return, the Mississippi in safety.

It is a matter of some importance, in an historical sense, to learn how, after the expedition of Lewis and Clark, civilization gradually approached the spot where Omaha is situated, that we may catch glimpses of what happened years ago in and around the site of the city.

Down the Missouri, in what is now Sarpy county, Nebraska, ten miles below Omaha, at a point now well-known as "Bellevue," one Manuel Lisa, a wealthy Spaniard, commenced, in 1805, a trading-post. It was the first white man's establishment

within the boundaries of the present state of Nebraska after this region became a part of the "Territory of Louisiana." Just how long Lisa traded here with the Indians is unknown. However, it was, probably, some years, as he gave the name to the place, which it still retains.

We now come to a period (1810) when the Missouri river, in the region of the present city of Omaha, became better known to the people of the United States. The cause of this was the establishing, by the American Fur company, of a trading-post at Bellevue. Francis DeRoin had charge of the establishment. He was succeeded by Joseph Roubideaux, subsequently the founder of St. Joseph, Missouri. He retained his place at Bellevue until 1816, when John Cabanne took charge of the post. The latter directed affairs there until 1824, when a successor was appointed—Peter A. Sarpy, in honor of whom Sarpy county was named. He must be considered the first white settler, in the true sense of the word, at Bellevue and, in reality, in the Valley of the Missouri above the south line of the present state of Nebraska. In 1824, then, the site of what is now Omaha was ten miles away from any civilized settlement.

The next year after Sarpy located at Bellevue, a man by the name of J. B. Royce established a trading-post "on the Omaha plateau" and was the first white man, so far as is known to history, who had a residence on any portion of the present site of the city. Royce continued here from 1825 until 1828, trading with the Indians, when he left. It is a matter of regret that nothing is known of Royce

—nothing has been preserved relating to him except his name.

In 1826. Colonel John Boulware, who finally settled at what is now Nebraska City, established himself at Fort Calhoun. It is generally believed that he, next to Colonel Sarpy, was the first white to settle on the west side of the Missouri.*

For the next eighteen years—that is, down to 1844—civilization seems not to have approached nearer the spot where the city of Omaha is now located than at Bellevue. But now a movement took place which brought white men to its very threshold. The Mormons who, during the year just mentioned, were expelled from Nauvoo, Illinois, gathered together their possessions and started westward to find a locality where they might be unmolested in their religious belief. Their number, consisting of men, women and children, was large—by some estimated at ten thousand. Their route lay across the state of Iowa, and the road by which they traveled was afterward known as the "Mormon Trail." Many stopped off on the way, but the greater portion came on until the Missouri river was reached, when they halted at or near the site of the present city of Council Bluffs, Iowa. They remained there but a short time, for, early in 1845, they crossed the Missouri and located upon its western bank, naming their location "Winter Quarters," which lies immediately north and nearly adjoining Omaha. For the next two years

* Compare Lieutenant E. S. Dudley's "Notes on the Early Military History of Nebraska," in Vol. II. of the "Transactions of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.," p. 168.

"Winter Quarters" continued to grow, until, we are told by one writer, "fifteen thousand people were there congregated."*

Another writer of more credibility assures us that, "in less than three months, seven hundred buildings were erected, and the number was soon increased to over one thousand. The town had its work-shops, mills and factories operated by water-power. It became a busy place, and soon contained a population of from six thousand to eight thousand."†

The Mormons had an eye single to the importance of having friendly relations with the Omaha Indians, who claimed the country where they had located. They rented, for a term of two years, sufficient land for their purpose, of the head men of that tribe; but the presence of so large a number of white people upon their lands naturally alarmed them. They asserted that the new-comers were cutting too much timber, and they made complaint to the agent employed by the government, asking their removal. The fact was that the invaders "were necessarily obliged to cut large quantities of lumber for building purposes." It was clear, upon investigation, that depredations had been committed, so the "Latter-Day Saints" were ordered off by the government's agent. A large portion obeyed the command, re-crossed the Missouri, settling in various accessible places among the bluffs on the east side of the river. Because of these troubles, an expedition of eighty wagons

was sent west in search of another home for the Mormons. It resulted in the selection of the Valley of the Great Salt lake—then far beyond the reach of the "Gentiles" or their laws—"where they could enjoy their peculiar observances untouched by the power of those who deemed their faith a fraud and their practices pernicious." Brigham Young was the leader of the pioneer party which started on its exploration on the fourteenth of April, 1847. Of course, "Winter Quarters" soon fell to decay. The whole region round about was virtually "restored" to its condition of aboriginal desolation. A few houses were left; and a sad memento of this Mormon occupation is still to be seen there, in a grave-yard, where many found their last resting-place. Civilization came, as it were, within a stone's throw of the future site of Omaha, but it departed as suddenly, almost, as it came; for the relics of Mormon predominance, including the houses, burial-places, ferry-sites and what-not, that were afterward to be seen (the buildings being occupied as residences and council-houses by the Indians and vagrant traders), could hardly be considered but as mere vestiges of enlightenment.

However, there was enough left of "Winter Quarters" to make it one of the points, among many others, where the gold-seekers of 1849 and following years crossed the Missouri on their way to California. The place, therefore, did not fade away entirely from the memory of men; and there were those who treasured up in their minds the peculiar advantages of this point as a ferry crossing—some even

* "History of the State of Nebraska" (Chicago: 1882), p. 678.

† Alfred Sorenson, in "Omaha Illustrated" (Omaha: D. C. Dunbar & Co., 1888).

believing that a railroad bridge would some day span the Missouri here, and that, phoenix-like, another and far greater city would rise from the ashes of "Winter Quarters."

But these day-dreamers miscalculated by placing their hopes on a spot five or six miles too far up the river, that was all.

It was the establishing of a ferry that gave the first impetus to the founding of Omaha. William D. Brown of Mt. Pleasant, Henry county, Iowa, on his way to California in 1849, conceived the idea that a ferry-boat, crossing from Council Bluffs to the opposite (west) side of the Missouri, would "pay." It was not only that, he expected to reap a share of the California travel. He saw, in his mind's eye, an emigration, large in its proportions, of squatters and speculators to the fertile lands which stretched away to the westward from the banks of the river. The country, he reasoned, would before many years be purchased of the Indians, and he would be prepared, when the tide set in, to accommodate all who might desire to cross over the river at this point.

The far-seeing Brown abandoned his California trip; but to successfully establish a ferry across the Missouri river at the place contemplated by him, was no small undertaking. There were many difficulties to be overcome. Among these were a sand-bar in the middle of the stream, a wide slough at the east bank that would obstruct the passage of the boat, and a low bottom at the west bank composed of sand and marsh. But Brown determined to hazard the undertaking. The next year (1850) he explored the west side of

the river. He determined, in his own mind, what course to take to avoid the sand-bar; what point on the bank he would land his passengers; and what direction should be pointed out to them that they might safely and quickly reach high ground. He then returned to the east side of the Missouri and put his plans into successful operation. The crossing he called the "Lone Tree Ferry." The craft used was a flat-boat, propelled by oars. The undertaking, as had been anticipated by its projector, proved a profitable one.

"Winter Quarters," although it was now completely shorn of its glory, had, it was evident, some peculiar advantages, such as, under an enlightened direction, might make it a place of considerable importance when permanent settlers should seek homes on this (the west) side of the Missouri. Among those who were acquainted with the locality, and believed in its favorable location for a city, was Peter A. Sarpy, already mentioned, agent of the American Fur company at Bellevue. He advised James C. Williams to settle there and lay out a town. The latter, in the fall of 1853, acting upon Sarpy's suggestion, caused the place to be surveyed and platted, changing its name to "Florence." A settlement commenced (this time a permanent one), antedating any other between that point and Bellevue.

Let us now return to the proprietor of the "Lone Tree Ferry." A project of his must here be mentioned and the outcome of it.

"The beautiful and commanding position of the future site of Omaha," says a

recent writer, "particularly the plateau with the hills in the background, impressed Mr. Brown with the belief that it would be a fine location for a town, which some day might develop into a large and prosperous city. The tide of travel was westward, and that point was the head of navigation at that time. He had frequently been over the ground and had made careful observations. Other residents of Council Bluffs had also visited the spot, and coincided with Mr. Brown as to its being a splendid site for a town. He suggested to some of his friends an enterprise of this character." * This was the *ideal* founding of Omaha; we will now describe the *real*.

At the date when the suggestions just mentioned were made to some of the prominent citizens of Council Bluffs by Mr. Brown—the spring of 1853—it seemed altogether certain that in a few months the Indian title to all the lands in that region would be yielded to the general government; why not, therefore, "take time by the forward top" and at once fix upon a site, mark it as a "claim" and proceed to plat it? Such thoughts were indulged in by the gentlemen with whom Mr. Brown conferred. The result of their deliberations was the organization, on the twenty-third of July, 1853, of "The Council Bluffs & Nebraska Steam Ferry Company," with Dr. Enos Lowe, president, and Tootle and Jackson, S. S. Bayliss, Joseph H. D. Street, Bernhart Henn, Jesse Williams, Samuel R. Curtiss, Tanner and Downs and William D. Brown, members. But it was resolved by them not to

attempt to secure the town site until Nebraska should be formed into a territory, which was accomplished by the passage, on the twenty-third day of May, 1854, by congress, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

In February of the year last named, the government agent of the Omahas, Otoës and Missouris met these tribes in council at Bellevue, the result of which was an agreement on their part to hold a treaty with the United States for the purpose of disposing of their lands, and of having reservations set apart and secured to them for their future homes. A treaty was held accordingly and articles signed on the sixteenth of March, 1854, by which they disposed of all their interest in the lands in all the region "round about."

It should be understood, in general terms, that the lands west of and adjoining the Missouri above the mouth of the Platte, extending westward somewhat indefinitely, and northerly to the possessions of the Sioux, belonged to the Omahas; so that now the "coast was clear"—"the times were ripe"—for the Ferry company to carry out their plan of surveying and platting a town, or, as some (who were prophets, in truth) believed, of founding a city.

A. D. Jones, then a surveyor of Council Bluffs, was thereupon employed by the company to survey the site covering the "claims" before made by that organization upon the west bank of the Missouri river, on the plateau near which was the landing of the steam ferry-boat that had now succeeded the flat-boat of Mr. Brown. The greater portion of the month of June and a part of July were spent by Mr. Jones in the work assigned him, he

* Alfred Sorenson in 'Omaha Illustrated,' before cited.

being "assisted by Mr. C. H. Downs, who carried the chain and drove the stakes." To the town, when surveyed and platted,

the Ferry company gave the name of "Omaha."

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[*To be continued*]

FIRST CIVILIZED ESTABLISHMENT ON THE WISCONSIN.

ON the twenty-second day of August, 1782, La Salle, that daring explorer and intrepid adventurer of the early northwest, in writing from Fort Frontenac, now Toronto, Canada, complains that Du Luth was encroaching on the territory which had been expressly assigned to him in which to trade. "He [that is Du Luth]," says La Salle, "pretends to have made an important discovery, and to ask this country as [having] the advantages of the Isolinois [Illinois], which is amusing enough that he hopes a reward for his rebellion. In the second place there are only three ways to go there [that is, to the country of the Sioux], one by Lake Superior, the other by the Bay of the Puans [Green Bay], the third by the Isolinois and the lands of my commission. The two former are suspicious, and it would not be necessary to open the third to him to my disadvantage, he having incurred no expense, and having gained much without risk, while I have undergone great hardships, perils and losses; and by the Isolinois there is a circuit of three hundred leagues for him to make."

"Moreover," adds La Salle, "the country of the Nadouesioux [Sioux] is not a country which he has discovered. It has been long known, and the Rev. Father

Hennepin and Michael Accault were there before him; the first one, indeed, of his fellow-deserters who reached it, having been one of my soldiers whom he seduced. Moreover, this country is uninhabitable, unfit for cultivation, there being nothing but marshes full of wild rice, on which these nations live; and no benefit can be derived from this discovery, whether it is ascribed to my people or to Du Luth, because the rivers there are not navigable. But the king having granted us trade in buffalo skins, it would be ruined by coming and going to the Nadouesioux [Sioux] by any other route than the Lake Superior one, through which the Count Frontenac can send to obtain beaver, according to the powers which he has to grant permits [congéz]. But if they go by Ouisconsin [Wisconsin], where they make their buffalo hunt in summer, and where I have begun an establishment [établissement], the commerce will be ruined on which alone I rely, from the great number of buffalo killed there every year, beyond what can be believed."

It will be seen that, in this letter, La Salle makes two positive statements, both of which are of paramount importance to the history of the northwest in general, and to that of Wisconsin in particular,

that before the year 1782 there were a great number of buffaloes in the country watered by the Wisconsin ; and, further, that in that country he had commenced an establishment or trading-post. Now, the interesting question is, where did La Salle begin his settlement? Was it immediately on the river or some distance from it? The language used by him: "Mais si on y va par Ouisconsin où ils font l'esté la chasse aux bœufs et où j'ay commencé un établissement," certainly implies that he commenced it on the river. But, in a volume just issued from the press, it is declared by the editor that this establishment was probably at Prairie du Chien.*

Let us examine this claim. Prairie du Chien, as everyone knows, is on the Mississippi, not far above the mouth of the Wisconsin, and on the east side of the river. In shipping buffalo skins or peltry of any kind from the Wisconsin river east, the route was across the portage to the Fox river of Green bay ; thence down that stream and the bay to Lake Michigan ; thence by the lakes to their destination, some being taken by way of the Ottawa, some by way of Lake Erie. It is not probable that a trading-post would be commenced in a place some distance away and in a direction exactly opposite, for the purpose of gathering these skins from the Indians preparatory to shipping, that is, where Prairie du Chien is now located, especially in view of the language of La Salle already quoted, showing his trading-post to have been on the Wisconsin.

Now, in order to bolster up the probabilities he advances, the writer just

referred to, who puts forth the claim for Prairie du Chien, gives an extract (translated) from La Salle's letter already mentioned, and this he does in the following words :

"La Salle further states in the same letter: 'Six weeks afterward, all having returned to the Ouisconsin with the Nadouesioux on a hunt, the R. P. Louis Hennepin and the Picard resolved *to go to the mouth of the river*, where I had promised to send messages, as I had done by six men, whom the Jesuits deceived, telling them that R. P. Louis [Hennepin] and his fellow-travelers had been slain. They allowed them to go there alone.'"

The words in italics are not italicized in the original, but are thus given by way of emphasis by the writer who makes the quotation. But the extract, standing alone and introduced as it is, conveys a different meaning from that intended by La Salle to anyone not familiar with the whole letter, and this includes, necessarily, of course, nearly all readers. "Six weeks afterward" has not the slightest reference to the time when the establishment was commenced, but to certain events with which Picard and Hennepin were connected, these men being at that time up the Mississippi and prisoners to the Sioux, having been dispatched, along with one Accault, to the country of those savages by La Salle, from the Illinois, on the last day of February, 1780 ; and having, also, been assured when they set out that he would send tidings to them of himself to the mouth of the Wisconsin, where they could hear from him. In this promise made by La Salle, there was not the slightest reference

* Lyman C. Draper, in 'Wisconsin State Historical Society's Collections,' Vol. X., p. 321.

to any establishment he had made or would probably make there, or just above there, at what is now Prairie du Chien. The words they "allowed them to go there alone," with which the above extract closes, does not refer to the six men sent by La Salle, but to Picard and Hennepin, whom the Sioux allowed to go alone to the mouth of the Wisconsin to meet the promised messengers. The six men never reached there.

Lest it be thought some forced construction may be given in what has been said as to the establishment of La Salle being on the Wisconsin and not on the Mississippi, and that the probabilities are decidedly against Prairie du Chien (or, at least, not for that point), it is proper here to cite what John Gilmary Shea says in translating so much of La Salle's letter as refers to Hennepin. "Where did La Salle," he asks, "begin a settlement on the Wisconsin?" To his mind, evidently, the words of La Salle mean "on the Wisconsin," not at its mouth nor on the Mississippi. It is safe to conclude that, if he had thought it was commenced at the mouth of the Wisconsin, he would have so stated, for he translates what is said about the six men being sent there by La Salle to carry tidings to Picard and Hennepin.

But to return to the claim made for Prairie du Chien. The claimant, in the work already cited, gives another extract (translated) from La Salle's letter, which, with the words introducing it, is as follows: "Then La Salle speaks of their being pillaged, because of jealousy, 'as they [the Indians] were from different villages,

and but few from that where the Frenchmen were to go; they did it in order to secure their portion of the merchandise, of which they feared they would receive none if they once entered the village where the Frenchmen were to go.' It would seem highly probable that La Salle's establishment at the Wisconsin was *at the mouth of the river*, where he was so anxious to send messages, no doubt to persons connected with his 'establishment,' and where Hennepin and his fellow-travelers were destined; and it would appear also, that there was an Indian village there at that early period."

In this quotation (which includes also an extract translated, as we have mentioned already, from La Salle's letter) the brackets and the words in italics are by the writer, who is claiming the trading-post of La Salle for Prairie du Chien. The idea conveyed therein is, that it is "highly probable," and "would appear," in La Salle's letter, (1) that, at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, there was then (that is, when Hennepin and his fellow-travelers were to go there) an Indian village at that place; (2) that La Salle was, at that time, anxious to send messages to persons connected with his establishment there; and (3) that by the words, "the mouth of the Wisconsin," is meant the place which is now the site of Prairie du Chien. These propositions are without the slightest foundation; and not one of them can by any possibility be based upon anything to be found in La Salle's letter. But, as the reader may prefer to see the rendering of a portion of that letter into English by John Gilmary Shea—an acknowledged authority in early western history, whose

translations from early French books, letters and documents are second to none in our country—so much as relates to the point under discussion is here given, with such interpolations by myself, in brackets, as seem to be necessary to make the sense perfectly clear :

“After having sailed [that is, after Accault, Picard and Hennepin, who had been dispatched by La Salle to the Sioux country, had sailed] along the Mississippi till the eleventh of April [1780], about three o'clock in the afternoon, paddling along the shore on the Illinois [that is, eastern] side, a band of a hundred Nadouesieux [Sioux] warriors, who were coming for the purpose of killing some Tchatchagoua, descended the same river in thirty-three birch-bark canoes. There were with them two women and one of those wretches who serve as women, although they are men, whom the Illinois call Ikoueta. They passed along and beyond some islands, and several canoes had already descended below that of the Frenchmen [that is, Accault, Picard and Hennepin]. Having perceived it, they all gathered, and those which had passed, paddling up with all their might, easily blocked their way. There was a part on land, which invested them [the Frenchmen] on that side. Michael Accault, who was the conductor, had the calumet presented to them. They received it and smoked, after having made a circle on land covered with straw, in which they made the Frenchmen sit. Immediately two old men began to bewail the death of those relatives whom they intended to avenge ; after having taken some tobacco, they made our people [that is, Accault,

Picard and Hennepin] embark and cross first to the other side of the river. They [the Sioux] followed them after giving three yells and paddling with all their might. On landing, Michael Accault made them a present of twenty knives and a fathom and a half of tobacco, which they accepted. They had already stolen a half pike and some other trifles. They then marched ten days together without showing any mark of discontent or ill-will, but on the twenty-second of April, having reached islands where they had killed some Maskoutens, they put the two dead men whom they were going to avenge, and whose bones they carried with them, between Father Louis [Hennepin] and Michael Accault. It is an equivocal ceremony, which is done to friends to excite their compassion and obtain presents to cover them, and to slaves who are taken in war to give them to understand that they must expect to be treated as the deceased was.

Michael Accault unfortunately did not understand this nation [Sioux] and there was not a single slave of the other nations whom he understood, which scarcely ever happens, all the nations in America having a number of those whose lives they spare in order to replace their dead, after having sacrificed a great many to them to appease their vengeance. As a result of this, one can make himself understood by almost all nations, when he knows three or four languages of those who go furthest in war, such as the Iroquois, the Illinois, the Akansa, the Nadouesieux [Sioux] and Sauteurs [Chippewas]. Accault understood all these except the Nadouesieux, but there are many among them who have

been prisoners among the others, or who have come from others and been taken in war, but chance willed that not one could be found in that band to interpret for the others. It was necessary to give a full box of goods and the next day twenty-four axes in trade.

"When they [the Sioux] were eight leagues below the Falls of St. Anthony they resolved to go by land to their village sixty leagues, or thereabout, distant from the landing place, not being willing to carry our people's things [that is, the things of Accault, Picard and Hennepin] or take them by water. They [the Indians] also made them [the Frenchmen] give the rest of the axes, which they distributed, promising to pay for them well at the village; but, two days after, they also divided among them two boxes of goods, and having quarrelled over the division, as well of the goods as of the tobacco, each chief pretending to be master, they parted in jealousy, and took the Frenchmen to the village, where they promised satisfaction in beaver, of which they professed to have a large number.

"They [the Frenchmen] were well received there and at first feasted; Accault, who was in a different village from that in which the Rev. Father Louis [Hennepin] and the Picard were, who were also well received, except that some wild young fellows having told the Picard to sing, the fear which he felt made him commit an act of cowardice, as it is only slaves who sing on reaching a village. Accault, who was not there, could not prevent it, but they had subjected them to no treatment approaching that given to slaves. They were never tied and payment was at once

promised for what the young men had taken, because Accault having found some by whom he could make himself understood, made them feel the importance of doing so, and two calumets were at once danced and some beaver robes presented to begin the payment; but as there was too little, Accault would not be satisfied with it.

"Six weeks after, having all returned with the Nadouesioux hunting towards Ouisconsing [that is, the three Frenchmen and the Sioux having returned toward the Wisconsin river], the Rev. Father Louis Hennepin and Picard resolved to come to the mouth of the river [Wisconsin], where I [that is, La Salle] had promised to send tidings of myself, as I did by six men, whom the Jesuits debauched, telling them that the Rev. Father Louis [Hennepin] and his traveling companions had been killed. They [the Picard and Hennepin] were allowed to go there [that is, to the mouth of the Wisconsin] alone to show that they were not treated as slaves, and that Du Lhut [Du Luth] is wrong in boasting that he delivered them [the Frenchmen] from bondage, inasmuch as on the way and as long as they [the Indians] had provisions, the French had the best, although they fasted well when the Indians ran out of food. The plundering was caused by jealousy only; for they [the Indians] were from different villages and very few from that [Sioux village] where the French [Accault, Picard and Hennepin] were to go; they [the Sioux who captured the Frenchmen] did this to have a share of the goods, of which they were afraid they would get nothing, if they once got into the village where the French

were [to go]; but the old men blamed the young greatly and offered and began the satisfaction which the said Accault was to receive [and which has just been mentioned]. So little did they retain the French as slaves that they gave the Rev. Father [Hennepin] and the Picard a canoe to come and obtain tidings of me [that is, of La Salle]."

One more quotation from the advocate for Prairie du Chien as being the place where La Salle began his trading-post, will include all that he has to say in the volume before alluded to, on that subject :

"As the locality of Prairie du Chien was confessedly the most fitting place for trading purposes of any point in the Wisconsin country, we may well judge that La Salle, with his long experience and observation, was not slow to fix his trading establishment at that favorite locality, and he deserves the credit of having, in all probability, been the primitive trader at that point, so far as we have any recorded evidence. Whatever he did, however, was not so much in the interest of effecting the settlement of the country as in securing trade and profit in furs and peltries, which was equally true of all the early traders, with their forts and trading establishments scattered along the lakes and streams of the northwest."

Let us examine the separate propositions contained in the quotation just given :

(1) It is assumed that the locality of Prairie du Chien was, in 1680, the most fitting place for trading purposes of any point in the Wisconsin country. But, in support of this declaration, there is no record or other evidence extant. (2) Because Prairie du Chien, in 1680 (or before), was such a fitting place for trading purposes, it is to be inferred that La Salle hastened to fix his trading establishment

there. But no writer of early western events has advanced any such idea. (3) La Salle deserves the credit of having been the first trader at Prairie du Chien, in all probability. But there is nowhere to be found a scratch of the pen, by any writer, so far as is known, suggesting any such credit.

It is a matter of some importance to fix the time when La Salle began his trading-post on the Wisconsin. But this can be determined only approximately. That it was not commenced before Hennepin and his companions left the Illinois for the country of the Sioux (February, 1680), there can be no question. No account of La Salle before that date refers to any such establishment; Hennepin does not mention it, which he undoubtedly would have done had it been in existence, for he passed up the Wisconsin, on his return to civilization, early in the fall of 1680. In 1681, when La Salle had received a full statement as to the upper Mississippi country, he was placed in possession of sufficient knowledge as to the region of the Wisconsin—of the large herds of buffaloes that roamed over that derelict region (for no savage tribes then inhabited that river)—to begin understandingly the founding of a trading-post there; and he declares, on the twenty-second of August, 1682, that he had commenced such an establishment. It is safe to conclude, then, that it was during the year 1681, or in the first half of 1682, that steps were taken by him to start his enterprise on the Wisconsin. The subsequent career of La Salle makes it certain that it was of very short existence. Exactly where, on that river, it was located will continue to remain, doubtless, a matter of the merest conjecture.

C. W. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WHILE there is no disposition to discuss anything of present politics in this connection, no exception can be taken to a retrospective glance at the past of one of the leaders of public events of to-day—a man who, in his person, associations and traditions, is a link between the old generation of statesmen and the new—Allen G. Thurman, the Democratic candidate for vice-president. Three times and only three times has he been a candidate before the people in a popular election. In 1844, when but thirty-one years of age, he was nominated to congress by the Democrats of the district in which he was then practicing law—the Chillicothe, Ohio—and elected. During that service he voted for the “Wilmot Proviso,” and opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a needless disturbance of a fair settlement of controverted questions, the re-opening of which might produce endless troubles. A lawyer all the way through, he declined a reelection and went back to the bar. In 1851 he was elected to the supreme bench of the state, under the new constitution, and drew the term for four years. Serving a portion of that time as chief-justice, he again declined, a re-nomination, and remained in private life until 1867, when the Ohio Democrats looked about for a man to run against General Hayes. A majority of forty-two thousand in the preceding year—when William Henry Smith, now of the Associated Press, was elected secretary of state over Ben La Fevre—was to be cut down, and the outlook was not promising. But a unanimous vote in the Democratic state convention showed that the party was solidly back of him, and he accepted and went to work. How well he carried himself, is shown somewhat by the fact that Hayes was elected by only 2,983 plurality; the legislature was carried by the Democrats, and the proposition to amend the state constitution in favor of Negro suffrage

was defeated by over fifty thousand votes. Thurman was made senator, and entered upon his legislative career.

It was a hard row that Thurman was compelled to hoe in early life, but grit and industry carried him through. The devotion of his mother made it possible for him to attend the old academy at Chillicothe, and while he was there, the greater part of his associates departed for the college courses for which they had been preparing. He was compelled to remain at home, for his parents not only could not furnish the needed money, but he was compelled to aid in the family support. Smarter than any who were sent away, and consumed with a desire for knowledge that has never been quenched, he saw his companions mount the stage and drive away, with a feeling akin to despair. With natural bitterness in his heart and tears in his eyes, he went away to that loneliest place on the green earth, the country church-yard, and lying down on an ancient, flat tombstone, cried out the grief that was within him. But there was a touch of the Roman about him even then, and after a time he rose up with the determination to do the best that in him lay. To a friend who met him on his homeward way, he determinedly said: “If they have learned more than I have, when they come home, they must work for it.” And no boy ever worked harder over his books than young Thurman did for many years thereafter. For nine years after his admission to the bar, the greater part of his earnings went to his sisters and his mother. He studied literature and the languages while he studied law, and to-day he is one of the most thoroughly learned men in public life. He is a fine French scholar, and among his favorites are the early French dramatists, whom he reads in the original. He also has a genius

for mathematics, and frequently amuses himself by working out abstruse and intricate problems. He owns a large and well-selected library, that in some form touches on every point of the world's literature.

THE Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly for September almost equals in historic and local value the Marietta Centennial number issued in June. It contains a number of papers bearing on the history of Marietta and the northwest, among which may be mentioned a memorial of Dr. Israel W. Andrews, prepared by Honorable William P. Cutler, who, for over forty years, was an intimate associate of Dr. Andrews, and who is perhaps more fully conversant than anyone else with his work and its results; "A History of the Organization of the First Church in Marietta," with picture of the old church building erected in 1809, and still occupied by the congregation, by Rev. C. E. Dickinson, and of great value to all those interested in the religious elements in the first colony; "Three Important Documents Relating to Land Cessions in the Northwest Territory," one of which has never before been published, and the other two are difficult of access; "The Conclusion of the Sketch of the Life of William D. Gallagher, Esq.," (with excellent portrait) by Professor W. H. Venable; and "The First Gathering of the Republican Party in Ohio," by Henry B. Carrington—an important fragment of the history of the anti-slavery movement in Ohio, and is in no sense a campaign document.

THE 'Tour' of John Pope, from which copious extracts were made in last month's issue, commented not alone upon Pittsburgh, but gave attention to various other cities through which the writer passed. Some of those observations were doubtless colored by the personal bias of one who gives many signs of being led by his feelings and prejudices. Of the metropolis of Pennsylvania: "In my Perambulations through *Philadelphia* (whose Police is most excellent) I do not recollect ever to have seen a Beggar, or heard that Prophanity

and Vulgarity of Expression, so common amongst the lower Class in all other populous Cities; but on the contrary, discovered all Ranks decently habited, with a Serenity of Countenance, mild Address, and in Steady, though moderate, Pursuit of their respective Vocations." Of Louisville: "The Stranger here may consider himself as at Home,—for such is the extreme Hospitality of the People, that unknown to their Guest, they will confer, or rather impose Acts of Beneficence, which cannot be refused without Rudeness." His comments upon New Orleans are very much as a visitor might make to-day: "This city is the Residence of *Don Miro* a *Spanish* Viceroy, and Emporium of *Louisiana* and the *Indian* Territories dependent thereon—it lies in almost an exact Square. The Streets which are wide, and some of them well paved with Brick, intersect each other at right Angles. The public Buildings are capacious and elegant. The private Houses generally neat and commodious. Both Descriptions lie compact and cover a Space of Ground of rather more than Half a Mile square. As the Situation of *New Orleans* was originally Nothing more than an extensive Morass, and subject to the Inundation of the *Mississippi*, it became necessary to exclude the Water by constructing Dikes from about ten to fifteen Feet in Height and double that Measure in Width. The steady Exertions of many Hands were, and still are employed in the Business; notwithstanding which the Dikes are sometimes broken through, and considerable Damage sustained by the Influx of Water into their Cellars, Gardens, and lower Rooms."

AT "*Pensacola*, the Metropolis of *West Florida*," he found "but one Tavern for the Accommodation of *Americans* and *Foreigners*, and its Rates are enormously high." "I was much pleased with *Augusta* and its high level Situation, but more so with her Citizens and the reputable Families in its *Vincinage*." Savannah was "happily situated for both foreign and internal Trade, as verging on the Atlantic to the East, and lying about Midway

on the inland Navigation, which extends from *Charleston* to *St. Mary's* river, the Southern Extremity of the United States." "The Situation of *Charleston*, the Character of her Citizens and the Nature of her Police fit her for Trade and Commerce, which however are not driven to that Extent as is observable in some Northern Towns which do not possess the third Part of her Opulence. In Point of Prospect it eclipses all other Cities in the Union, and is inferior to only Three in Size, Wealth, Population, Trade and Elegance of Buildings. Her Citizens are a gay, luxurious People fond of Dress and pompous Equipage, in which they give the Ton to *Augusta* and *Savannah* who are most excellent Copyists."

THE Wisconsin State Historical society has received from Judge B. F. Heuston of Winona, and Messrs. George H. Squiers and Antoine Grignon of Trempealeau, a box of relics from the excavation that has been in progress, off and on for the past year, on the shore of the Mississippi river, a mile above Trempealeau village and some three miles above the mouth of Black river, as the Wisconsin *State Journal* informs us. It will be remembered that this excavation has been made with a view to establishing the theory of Judge Heuston that on the site mentioned was one of the several forts built by Nicholas Perrot, the noted French commander and explorer, in 1684-86, on the banks of the upper Mississippi. Some five fire-places of a crude fashion were unearthed, buried beneath an accumulation of forest *debris* two feet deep. Great stumps, cut forty years ago by the present owner of the land, were buried in the midst of some of the fire-places, the chopper not being aware that he was clearing a forest that had grown up since the early French occupation on this point of river bank, and had pushed itself up through their rude stone-work, now carpeted over with woodlawn turf. In the bottom of the fire-places were beds of ashes, in which were charred bones of birds and animals. It is thought, also, that the trace of a burned stockade was found in a

short line of charcoal along one side of the fire-places. What had evidently been used as a blacksmith's forge was also found, with bits of rudely wrought iron lying about—a pike, fashioned out of a gun-barrel, and some wrought nails; there was also a quantity of slag by the forge, which those expert in such matters think was the result of crude attempts to smelt some of the floating iron ore to be found in the neighboring bluffs—showing that the forge had played the part of bloomary as well.

SOME of the bones originally found in the ashes were those of deer and dogs, the latter a great Indian delicacy and not despised by the French explorers when out of other meat; but, unfortunately, none of these early discoveries were kept, although a pair of buffalo horns, found at a later day within the encampment, were preserved, and are now with the iron and slag relics sent to the Historical society. The advance of the season has caused the cessation of the spasmodic work for this year, but Mr. Squiers, who has been the principal excavator, will continue his labor next year. He is a gentleman competent for this service, having been in the employ of the Smithsonian institution on somewhat similar work; his labor in the Trempealeau excavation has been gratuitous, being induced by his historical enthusiasm. That this Trempealeau encampment was once an old French post, either for trading purposes or those of defense or both, there appears to be but little doubt. But whether or not Fort St. Antoine, the principal stronghold of Perrot, remains an open question. If built by Perrot at all, it was probably only his "Wintering Bluff," which is to be found located at this very point on the famous map of the west made by the cartographer, Franquelin, a contemporary of Perrot. In any event, the Trempealeau find is interesting historically, and deserves the attention which it has received from both Wisconsin and Minnesota antiquaries.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'FRANCE AND THE CONFEDERATE NAVY—1862-1868: AN INTERNATIONAL EPISODE.' By John Bigelow. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

Mr. Bigelow, as a representative of the United States government in France during a critical period of the war, had access to much information not open to the public, of which he has made good use in this book. He fully relates the arrangements made by the Confederacy with the French emperor, for "the construction in the dock-yards of France of several vessels of war for the Confederate navy, more formidable than any then afloat. Had these vessels reached the coast of America, the territory of the United States might possibly now be under two or more independent governments; or, if under one, a widely different one from that under which we are now living, or from any which our fathers designed for us. The history of that conspiracy, and of the means by which the calamities with which it was so big were averted, invite the reader's attention in these pages."

While Mr. Bigelow has not attempted to tell in chronological order the whole story of the secret operations and correspondence between France and the Confederates, and has held himself mainly to the points that have fallen under his own official observation, he has thrown a volume of light upon an "international episode" little known to this generation and almost forgotten by that in which it occurred, but that would have had a great effect upon the fortunes of our land, had not the surrender at Appomattox compelled France to a policy of outward friendship that was foreign to the policy and desire of the emperor of France. The book is one more added to that long list already bequeathed to the future by the actors in the great Rebellion, who have

attempted to preserve an accurate and faithful account of the events of which they were a part.

'THE WISHING-CAP PAPERS.' By Leigh Hunt. (Now first collected.) Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'FIRESIDE SAINTS, MR. CAUDLE'S BREAKFAST TALK, AND OTHER PAPERS,' By Douglas Jerrold. (Now first collected.) Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'BROKEN LIGHTS: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF RELIGIOUS FAITH.' By Frances Power Cobbe. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

'RELIGIOUS DUTY.' By Frances Power Cobbe. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

The four books above mentioned belong to the new "Good Company" series of selected works of eminent English authors, which Messrs. Lee & Shepard some time since announced, and that has been awaited with considerable interest. In addition to the books here named, the series will contain such works as 'The Lover,' written in imitation of the *Tattler*, by Marmaduke Myrtle, Gent. (Richard Steele); 'Dreamthorp,' by Alexander Smith; 'A Physician's Problems,' by Charles Elam; 'The Schoolmaster,' by Roger Ascham; 'The Story of the Development Theory,' by Joseph Y. and Fanny Bergen; 'The Philosophy of Mirth,' with seven hundred and fifty illustrative anecdotes, by B. F. Clark; 'The Gentleman,' by George H. Calvert; 'Education,' by Herbert Spencer, etc. The happiness of these selections, and the eminent character of the authors who are to appear in the series, speak fully for themselves. Of those above named, 'The Wishing-Cap Papers,' are written in Leigh Hunt's happiest manner, and abound in rich and felicitous descriptions of

nature, in kindly comments on favorite authors and books, and in thoughtful and good-natured speculations on human life. The various essays in the collection are terse in style, vigorous in thought, and show that this genial essayist had the "true capabilities of wrath," and could battle for the right. M. Taine has said that wit is "the art of stating things in a pleasant way," which, if true, makes 'The Wishing-Cap Papers' a very witty book and Leigh Hunt a great wit, for his sentences are brilliant examples of this eminent Frenchman's definition of wit. The book has a firm hold on the reading population, and in its new appearance will gain additional popularity—a popularity worthy of Leigh Hunt, who never wrote a dull line.

'Fireside Saints, Mr. Caudle's Breakfast Talk, and Other Papers,' by Douglas Jerrold—one of the most humorous, witty and inimitable of writers—may be classed among the most successful hits of the late Douglas Jerrold. This collection of his writings, which have been gathered into this pleasing volume, comprises rare specimens of every variety of his versatile genius. It will be difficult to find another volume in the language which will surpass this one in its plenteous harvest of jest and fancy, tenderness and pathos, sound sense and keen satire. Besides the twelve chapters of "Mr. Caudle's Breakfast Talk," and the fifteen "Hedgehog Letters," which may be read consecutively, or at brief sittings, as one pleases, and with equal pleasure, there are sixteen other short papers, just long enough to read of an evening, or to fill up an unoccupied or wearisome hour, and abounding with the conceits—quaint, frolicsome, genial and witty—of this amiable and delightful writer, of whom Leigh Hunt once justly said that if he had "the sting of the bee, he had also his honey."

The works of Frances Power Cobbe are in a very different vein, but they touch close to the better thoughts of human life, and become an aspiration to a higher performance of duty.

'FAMOUS AMERICAN STATESMEN.' By Sarah K. Bolton, author of 'Poor Boys Who Became Famous,' 'Girls Who Became Famous,' 'Stories From Life,' etc., etc. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

Those who know Mrs. Bolton as she is known here in the city of her home, are not surprised, as doubtless strangers are, that she should produce so many valuable works in quick succession; for her industry has long been recognized as equal to her ability. She has made a study of American biography, and writes not merely that the facts concerning the man or woman limned may be properly brought out, but that the narrations shall entertain and carry a moral as well. Perhaps her best work in that direction has been furnished in the handsome volume that Crowell & Co. have just offered the trade. The men whose lives she has so pleasantly and carefully set before the youth of America, are such as would interest a writer and bring forth the best that was to be given—Washington, Franklin and Hamilton of the early days; Webster and Clay of the great period of constitutional statesmanship; Sumner, as representing the crusade for emancipation; and Grant and Garfield of these later days; with others than those mentioned. New facts and new methods of presentation make these sketches interesting even to those familiar with the theme; while to the youth they must be of absorbing interest. A number of fine portraits are furnished. We congratulate Mrs. Bolton upon the excellence of her work in this volume, and readers of biography that she has once more turned her pen in that direction.

'PROTECTION ECHOES FROM THE CAPITOL.' Edited by Thomas H. McKee, assistant librarian of the United States senate, assisted by Honorable W. W. Curry of Indiana. Published by McKee & Co., Washington, D. C.

This work is as valuable as it is timely, and comes at a time when men who desire to learn all that can be said upon the question of

protection, but who have not time to go into an exhaustive study thereof, need a compendium which this volume most fully supplies. It contains 1,254 selections from the great tariff debate on the Mills bill in the house of representatives, and on the President's message in the senate; also other important tariff information, to which is added the existing tariff and the Mills bill, in parallel columns, compared. Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1789, congress has been in session one hundred and twelve times and occupied 13,627 days. During this period one hundred and twenty-five bills for raising revenue upon imposts have become laws. The best thought expressed in all this debate forms the basis of the present discussion on the Mills bill. Four thousand one hundred and seventy-six large quarto pages of the *Congressional Record* contains this debate in about two hundred set speeches, running through sixty-six days, and the work required to cull the best thought and expression from all this has been very great. "It is a lexicon to which the students of the topic can refer with advantage," says Senator Ingalls of the work; while Senator John Sherman adds: "It is certainly a great mine of argument in favor of protection, in a form very convenient for reference, and will, no doubt, be useful in the present canvass. As a ready book of reference it will be invaluable."

'DOWN THE GREAT RIVER; EMBRACING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE TRUE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI, TOGETHER WITH VIEWS, DESCRIPTIVE AND PICTORIAL, OF THE CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES AND SCENERY ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER, AS SEEN DURING A CANOE VOYAGE OF OVER THREE THOUSAND MILES FROM ITS HEAD-WATERS TO THE GULF OF MEXICO.' By Captain Willard Glazier, author of 'Soldiers of the Saddle,' 'Capture, Prison-pen and Escape,' 'Battles for the Union,' etc. Published by Hubbard Brothers, Philadelphia.

We have given the title to this book in full, because it describes, in fewer words than might otherwise be employed, the varied character of the contents and the great claim that the

author so confidently puts forth; for in this work, as heretofore in the public press, Captain Glazier lays claim to being the true discoverer of the source of the Mississippi—a claim that many have denied, and that is even yet in course of settlement before the geographers and the public. Of that claim, the author says briefly in his introduction: "Satisfied that the exploration at the head-waters of the Mississippi had been completed by Schoolcraft and Nicollet, nothing further was attempted in this quarter, with the exception of a partial survey, from 1836 to 1881—an interval of forty-five years—when in the latter year the question of the fountain-head of the great river was again revived, and a hitherto unrecognized lake to the south of Itasca was located by the author of this volume as the primal reservoir—the *true source* of the *Father of Waters*."

This is not the place, nor is it our province, to attempt an investigation of this claim, nor to pass judgment upon it, although in passing it may be remarked that Captain Glazier very plausibly states his case, and furnishes many points in corroboration. Yet we can say that in his description of his long float down the great river, he has made a readable book, and given many bright and interesting glimpses of the people and places upon its banks. One hundred and sixteen days were occupied in the trip, all of which were filled with observation and incident. The book has been finely illustrated, and supplied with all the skill of the printer and binder. It is valuable in that it is the detailed description of travel upon a highway of which the people have little knowledge.

'THE ARYAN RACE: ITS ORIGIN AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS.' By Mr. Charles Morris, author of 'A Manual of Classical Literature.' Published by S. C. Griggs & Company, Chicago.

This work that combines history, description and philosophy in about equal proportions fills a place in the literature that has grown up concerning this wonderful race, that no other book attempts to fill. As the author well says, the story of this people, despite the great

interest which surrounds it, remained unwritten, heretofore, in any complete sense; there are many books, indeed, which deal with it fragmentarily, yet no general treatment of the subject had been essayed until Mr. Morris gave us the one above cited. That he has done his work well, a glance at the contents of the work will make sure. It is, as has been well said, "a thoughtful and admirable attempt to trace the intellectual history of humanity from its source. It shows wide reading, deep study and fine analytical powers, and is exceptionally interesting, not only for the student but for intelligent and knowledge-seeking readers generally. We know of no one volume in which so vast a fund of information relating to the Aryans can be found. It cannot fail to attract and to interest thoughtful people of every degree. In scientific carefulness, fullness of knowledge, sobriety of judgment, clearness of style and sustained interest, the book is worthy of all praise. It must have been the outcome of long and careful study, and it fills a place in our literature hitherto entirely vacant, and fills it in a way which does credit both to his scholarship and his literary powers. The man that wants to know all about his own race and the ancestry of modern nations, such as the Teutons, the Slavs, the Celts, the Saxons and others, should study it. It is learned without being pedantic, and profound without being unintelligible. It gives a mass of information and interesting data."

'ADVENTURES OF PIONEER CHILDREN; OR LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS: A PORTRAYAL OF THE PART PERFORMED BY THE CHILDREN OF THE EARLY PIONEERS IN ESTABLISHING HOMES IN THE WILDERNESS.' By E. Fenwick Colerick. Published by Robert Clarke & Company, Cincinnati. Illustrated.

This collection of thrilling narratives of the 'Adventures of Pioneer Children' has been gleaned from the general history of our country and the local histories of the border wars, etc., together with many interesting incidents, acts of heroism and exciting adventures with wild beasts and the crafty Indian, founded on facts, obtained from the actors or their descendants,

which have never before appeared in print. It is, indeed, a book of exciting interest. The children of the early settlers in the Ohio and Kentucky wilderness of a hundred years ago faced, with their parents, the danger of savages and wild beasts. The boys and girls of that time were necessarily a part of the pioneer army, realizing as soon as they could think that their lives were constantly in peril. As a result certain qualities were developed in them that seem surprising to their descendants of this day. As they shared the risk and bore a hand in the common defense, they well deserve the attention of the historian, and the idea of writing up their daring exploits and devoted bravery is to be warmly commended. Mr. Colerick has written an absorbing book, one that will be read with wonder as well as eagerness.

'MONTEZUMA'S GOLD MINES.' By Fred A. Ober, author of 'The Silver City,' 'History of Mexico,' etc. Published by D. Lothrop Company, Boston.

This story is one of absorbing interest to the young, and by no means without charm to those of older years. It is a tale of adventure without extravagance, and weaves enough of historical and descriptive matter with the text to give it an added value in that direction. It is well illustrated. Mr. Ober is a writer of skill and experience, and holds the attention when once it is engaged upon any of his charming stories.

'THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURGH.' By General Alfred E. Lee, secretary of the Gettysburgh Memorial Commission of Ohio. Illustrated with twenty full page engravings of the Ohio Memorials. Published by A. H. Smythe, Columbus, Ohio.

General Lee's story of that great battle, as told in this volume, is one of the most graphic and interesting of the many that have been placed upon paper. His fairness and justice to all concerned is commendable, while his literary ability for the task is unquestioned. The fine engravings of the memorials, which Ohio has patriotically placed upon the battlefield, add greatly to the value of the work, and

make a possession which one would care to secure and preserve for the art value alone.

'THE FAITH THAT MAKES FAITHFUL.' By William C. Gannett and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

This interesting volume of essays upon a variety of themes, delicately handled, is in its fifth thousand, which certainly is a mark of its popularity. It consists of eight themes, four by each of the authors—"Blessed by Drudgery," "Faithfulness," "I Had a Friend," "Tenderness," "A Cup of Cold Water," "The Seamless Robe," "Wrestling and Blessing" and "The Divine Benediction." The practical wisdom, laid deep in a vein of poetic prose, makes the volume well worth the reading, to say nothing of the pleasure one has in that perusal.

'GROUND RENTS IN PHILADELPHIA.' By Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose, members of the Philadelphia bar. Number three, in the publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

This is an exhaustive, yet clearly understood, exposition of a peculiar phase of property-holding in a great city where the tenement house is practically unknown.

'SUCCESSFUL WOMEN.' By Sarah K. Bolton, author of 'How Success is Won,' 'Social Studies in England,' etc. Published by D. Lathrop Company, Boston.

Mrs. Bolton has introduced us in this instance to a company of women whose lives have hardly heretofore been given the public in book form—those of the present generation of workers, whose work is by no means done. Juliet Corson, Mary Louise Booth, Francis E. Willard and Mrs. Alden are of the number, with others equally or less well known. A portrait of each of the subjects is furnished, and it is to be regretted that the work of the artist has not been up to the requirements of this otherwise beautiful and artistic work. Mrs. Bolton seems to have been at her best—her sketches are interesting, and the characters

have been made to live with a new and absorbing interest. While the work is for old and young, it is such as a parent would be glad to have in the hands of the girls, encouraging them to new efforts, and emulating them to honorable deeds.

'THE LAND OF THE NIHILIST; RUSSIA, ITS PEOPLE, ITS PALACES, ITS POLITICS. A NARRATIVE OF TRAVEL IN THE CZAR'S DOMINIONS.' By William Elroy Curtis, author of 'The Capitals of Spanish America,' 'A Summer Scamper,' 'The Children of the Sun,' etc. Published by Belford, Clarke & Co., Chicago, New York and San Francisco.

Mr. Curtis' admirable work upon the Spanish capitals of South America is accompanied in this volume by a description of his personal observations and experiences in the land of which the world has at present so much to say, and especially so much to ask. In the summer of 1887, as correspondent of the Chicago *Daily News*, he spent some time in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other portions of the Czar's domains, finding many amazing things, and seeing many strange sights that only a newspaper correspondent would undertake to describe. His letters to the *News* having won such widespread and favorable comment, he was led to arrange them in form for handy and permanent use, and the result is this graphic and fully illustrated book. The work becomes not only one of description, but a guide-book as well. Mr. Curtis writes with a trained and facile pen, and in the things he has described, both old and new, he has given us a series of pictures of charming reality. The endless variety of fact he has compassed into the space given, is one of the chief merits of the work, and gives it an added value—for the world is too busy now to read a column where a paragraph will do, as newspapers like the *News* and writers of experience like Mr. Curtis long since found out.

'IN CASTLE AND CABIN, OR TALKS IN IRELAND IN 1887.' By George Pellew, A. M., LL. B., of the Suffolk bar. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Mr. Pellew spent four months and over, in Ireland, making a study of the conditions of

social, political and business life there existing. And if he has not produced a book which all sides will accept as a complete statement of the case, he has at least given the public one that attempts to be fair, and that has the merit of being largely made up of the narratives of those upon the ground, rather than in the language of the author. He set upon every person he met, no matter what might be his views, and attempted to draw him into conversation upon the condition of the country and the reasons that made him oppose Home Rule, or desire it. Full notes were taken of these conversations, and the result is the record of over two hundred talks with officials, landlords, land agents, priests, farmers, professional men, merchants, shop-keepers, commercial travelers and laborers. Of this labor, Mr. Pellew says: "Four months is, perhaps, not long enough to find out much about a country so variously interesting as Ireland. If I can, however, succeed in making the reader feel as though he had seen and heard what passed in my presence during those four months, this little book may have been worth the reading. It will, at least, suggest some of the difficulties to be met by any statesman and by any nation that proposes finally and at once, to solve the group of problems so long unfortunately known as the Irish question." The work contains a fine map of Ireland. It is a valuable contribution to the literature of the great question confronting England to-day, and contains many side-lights of information that were not specially within the main scope of the work.

'HISTORY OF TENNESSEE. THE MAKING OF A STATE.' By James Phelan. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

The historical researches that of recent years have been carried on in relation to the early days of this southern commonwealth, have given it an interest which it did not seem to possess, when overshadowed by the greater individuality of Kentucky, Virginia and Ohio. As Mr. Phelan says: "Although the annals of Tennessee are not filled with accounts of the revolutions which have changed the complexion of the world, yet her history, in addition to the interest which it possesses for her children as giving an account of the achievements of their ancestors, has one claim upon the attention of the thoughtful student of history which is peculiarly her own. In it can be studied, as under a glass and in an hour, the process of

development which in other states is either imperfectly displayed or is spread over a long stretch of time, the periods of which are indistinctly understood, or marred by extraneous and disturbing causes. . . . In Tennessee we have within the limits of a century a picture of National life as complete as that of England through its two thousand years, or that of Rome, from the kings to the emperors. We can study the process by which wildernesses were turned into gardens, and observe the stages of development from primitive rudeness to civilization and refinement, from disorganization to organization; from the absence of all law, through all the grades of a complete system of laws imperfectly obeyed, to a time when a community of nearly two millions of people live together in the bonds of a sober, industrious and law-abiding citizenship."

The treatment of the subject in Mr. Phelan's work has been carried out in accordance with the above view; and certainly a remarkable record is the result. The ability and fairness of the writer are conceded from the opening chapter, while the research and labor he has given are something wonderful—as the list of authorities consulted would alone show. The state gains a new importance in the eyes of the reader, and he for the first time understands its full and true relation to the history of our country and the west. Many unexpected side-lights of history are also displayed upon almost every page.

'OHIO: A POEM FOR THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, 1888.' By Bertha Monroe Rickoff. Published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

The poem read by Miss Rickoff at the banquet of the Ohio Society of New York, at Delmonico's, on April 7, 1888, has been reproduced by the enterprise of Robert Clarke & Co., in a beautiful form, elegantly illustrated by a series of beautiful pictures that carry out the suggestions of the text. That Miss Rickoff should be naturally possessed of literary talent is no surprise to those who know her parents, her father being Andrew J. Rickoff, who was once at the head of the Cincinnati schools, while both her parents have written much and written well. The poem shows promise of poetic work that time and experience will improve; and as a souvenir of Ohio's centennial, "Ohio" has a special claim upon the public interest aside from any question of poetic worth.

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Erastus Corning

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LEGEND AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE DELAWARES.

HISTORIANS, as a general rule, are very distrustful as to legends. All nations have them, and dwell upon them with great pride, the legends generally pointing to a supernatural origin of the nation to which they refer. Greece had them in abundance and Rome, and our American Indian tribes seem each to have a legend of its own. The Shawnees had legends of the supernatural birth of their founder, one bringing him up out of the sea and another treating of him as an Indian phoenix, brought up out of the ground through the ashes of a camp-fire. The Iroquois, too, had a legend of their supernatural origin, as had the Cherokees and the southern tribes generally. So far as these legends treat of the supernatural, it is easy for the historian to throw them aside as unworthy of notice; but when they set forth a

tolerably well-connected story, it is easy to be deceived by their seeming truth. This has been the result in the case of the legend published by Heckewelder, as prevalent among the Delawares. It omits all claims to the supernatural, and sets out a story as to where the Delawares came from with so much *vraisemblance* that historians have accepted it as veritable history. Bancroft appears to have set the example for this; and it is not marvelous that others have followed in his track. Still, despite Heckewelder's childlike belief in it, and Bancroft's seeming acceptance of it, the story is nothing but a legend, with not a single collateral circumstance to back it up.

Heckewelder, as is well known, was a Moravian missionary among the Delawares at Bethlehem, on the Lehigh. He had

studied their language diligently, mixed freely with them, and heard all their legendary stories. Ordinarily, he is a good authority in the etymology of Delaware words; but, being a credulous and unsuspicious man, is frequently weak and untrustworthy. The childlike blandness with which he narrates this legend, and the easy credulity that leads him to believe in it, are proofs of his unsuspicious character. To us a legend *is* a legend, and suspicious because it is a legend; to him, coming from his pet Delawares, it was veritable history.

As Heckewelder's statement of it is short, I append it herewith. Many, perhaps most, of your readers may have seen it before; but it will well repay a perusal. It is impossible to comment upon it freely without having it before the eye:

TRADITION OF THE LENNI-LENAPE.

"The Lenni-Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors) resided many hundreds of years ago in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason, which I do not find accounted for, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a very long journey and many nights' encampments* by the way, they at length arrived on the *Namaesi-sipu*,† where they fell in with the *Mengwe*,‡ who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had

struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same with that of the Delawares; they were proceeding on to the eastward, until they should find a country that would please them. The spies, which the Lenape had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitering, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. Those people (as I was told) called themselves *Talligewi*. Colonel John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians and speaks several of their languages, is of opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country—the Allegheny river and mountains have indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligewi-sipu*, the river of the Alligewi. We have adopted, I know not for what reason, its Iroquois name, Ohio, which the French had literally translated into *La Belle Riviere*, the Beautiful River. A branch of it, however, still retains the ancient name, Allegheny.

"Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from which they could sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by

* "Nights' encampment" is a halt of one year at a place.

† The Mississippi, or River of Fish; *namaes*, fish; *sipu*, river.

‡ The Iroquois or Five Nations.

them, two of which, in particular, were remarkable. One of them was near the mouth of the River Huron, which empties itself into the Lake St. Clair, on the north side of that lake, at the distance of about twenty-nine miles northeast of Detroit. This spot of ground was, in the year 1786, owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other works, properly entrenchments, being walls or banks of earth regularly thrown up, with a deep ditch on the outside, were on the Huron river, east of the Sandusky, about six or eight miles from Lake Erie. Outside of the gateways of each of these two entrenchments, which lay within a mile of each other, were a number of large, flat mounds, in which, the Indian pilot said, were hundreds of the slain Talligewi, whom I shall hereafter, with Colonel Gibson, call *Alligewi*. Of these entrenchments, Mr. Abraham Steiner, who was with me at the time when I saw them, gave a very accurate description, which was published at Philadelphia in 1789 or 1790, in some periodical work, the name of which I cannot at present remember.

“When the Lenape arrived on the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle themselves in their neighborhood. This was refused them, but they obtained leave to pass through the country, and seek a settlement further to the eastward. They accordingly began to cross the *Namaesipu*, when the Alligewi, seeing that their numbers were so very great, and, in fact, they consisted of many thousands, made a furious attack on those who had crossed, threatening them all with destruction if they dared to persist in coming over to

their side of the river. Fired at the treachery of these people and the great loss of men they had sustained, and, besides, not being prepared for a conflict, the Lenape consulted on what was to be done; whether to retreat in the best manner they could, or try their strength, and let the enemy see that they were not cowards, but men, and too high-minded to suffer themselves to be driven off before they had made a trial of their strength and were convinced that the enemy was too powerful for them. The Mengwe, who had hitherto been satisfied with being spectators from a distance, offered to join them on condition that, after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them; their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations to conquer or die.

“Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers and near lakes, where they were successively attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered with earth. No quarters were given; so that the Alligewi, at last finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors and fled down the Mississippi river, from which they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their

warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes and their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long period of time, *some say many hundred years*, the two nations resided peaceably in this country and increased very fast; some of the most enterprising huntsmen and warriors crossed the great swamps,* and, falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the Great Bay river,† thence into the bay itself, which we call Chesapeake. As they pursued their travels partly by land and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the Great Saltwater lake, as they call the sea, they discovered the great river which we call the Delaware; and thence exploring, still eastward, the Scheyichbi country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North river. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, or some of them, after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits, and the rivers and bays with fish, tortoises, etc., together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the

* The Glades; that is to say that they crossed the mountains.

† Meaning the River Susquehanna, which they call the "Great Bay River," from where the west branch falls into the main stream.

event as a fortunate one for them, and, concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even lying by for a whole year. At last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehanna and Potomac), making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of 'Lenapewihittuck'‡ (the river or stream of the Lenape), the centre of their possessions.

"They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people which had not crossed the Namaesi-sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking they had all been killed by the enemy.

"Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies: the large body, which they suppose to have been one-half of the whole, was settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest, as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of the river.

"Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the Turtle and the Turkey, the former

‡ The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream. Sipo or sipu is the proper name for a river.

calling themselves Unamis and the other Unalachtgo, chose those grounds to settle on which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the Mohicannittuck (River of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to beyond the Potomac. Many families, with their connections, choosing to live by themselves, were scattered not only on the larger but also on the small streams throughout the country, having towns and villages where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided. Those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free-will—the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events, or occurrences affecting the general interest, which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the Wolf, commonly called the Minsi, which we have corrupted into Monseys, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended their settlements from the Minisink, a place named after them, where they had their council-seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east, and to the west or southwest far beyond the Susquehanna; their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehanna and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by

the name of Mushanecton and in Pennsylvania by those of the Lehigh, Coghnewago, etc. Within this boundary were their principal settlements, and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on Lehigh (the west branch of the Delaware), and others beyond the Blue Ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

“From the above three tribes the Unamis, the Unalachtgo and the Minsi, comprising together the body of the people we call Delawares, had, in the course of time, sprung many others, who, having for their own conveniency chosen distant spots to settle on and increasing in numbers, gave themselves names or received them from others. Those names, generally given after some simple, natural object, or after something striking or extraordinary, they continued to bear even after they ceased to be applicable, when they removed to other places, where the object after which they were named was not to be found; thus they formed separate and distinct tribes, yet did not deny their origin, but retain their affection for their parent tribe, of which they were even proud to be called the grandchildren.”

The reader will notice the smug sense of complacency which pervades this narrative. The atmosphere of the “Big Injun! Me!” surrounds it. The idea that runs through it is, see what a big, magnanimous, brave, great people the Lenape were, and how poorly the Iroquois compare with them! The latter stood

back when the Lenape bore the first onset of the Allegewi, looking on complacently, and waiting for their chance to come in with the fullest benefit to themselves; and after both had got safely across the river, the Iroquois left them to bear the brunt of the fight with the enemy, lagging in the rear out of harm's way. The Iroquois' legend was that, at some indefinite time, the Delawares had made peace with an enemy, agreeing never to take up arms again; hence they were branded as "women," and Indians who had no rights any other Indian was bound to respect. *This* Delaware legend was plainly intended to offset the offensive Iroquois one, and to show that the Lenape were always brave *men* and willing to do more than their share of the fighting. This plain purpose of the Delaware legend has, to readers of English, fallen out of sight, to base on the legend theories and speculations about the Allegewi.

Let us examine it and see what claim it has to be regarded as historical, so far as it relates to this otherwise entirely mythical Indian tribe of prehistoric times. For, bear it in mind, the legend applies to times before the discovery of America. It is more than a hundred years since the innocent and verdant Heckewelder gathered up the elements of his story, in chats at evening in the cabins and tents of the aged Indians of his day. The time is vaguely placed as "many hundred years ago," and "a long period of time, some say many hundred years." If, to the old men of 1786 it was "many hundreds of years" before their recollections, this event, if it ever happened at all, must have happened not later than 1400. The

discoverers of North America found the same tribes of Indians on the coast as were there in Heckewelder's time. The migration to the Atlantic coast from beyond the Mississippi must, therefore, have happened some time before the close of the fourteenth century. It happened, then, in prehistoric times, prehistoric so far as the Indians were concerned. The Indians kept no records, and the only corroboration the story could have would be in the survival of a somewhat similar legend among other Indian tribes. The legend mentions the Iroquois as another tribe, moved by the same impulse as the Lenape, which met them on the banks of the Mississippi, and joined with them in fighting their way across, and in dividing the land between them when they had driven out the Allegewi. If there was any truth in the legend, the memory of the story would be as likely to survive among the Iroquois as among the Delawares—would be *more* likely to do so, in fact, for the Iroquois were the more intelligent of the two tribes, the more warlike and the more likely to retain the tradition of such an event, and to hand it down from one generation to another. Yet we seek in vain for any such legend among the Iroquois traditions. They claimed to be *Ongwe-Hongwe*—men above men—a higher class of men; and so great a feather in their cap as would have been the defeat and extinction of the great tribe of the Allegewi would most certainly have been sported if there had been any tradition of this kind to warrant it. The Iroquois were always "Big Injuns" in their own estimation, but their vanity never drove them to imagine anything that bears the

remotest likeness to this Delaware legend. Nor has any such tradition a place among the other Lenape tribes. The Chippewas, who might reasonably claim to be the remnants of the tribe left on this side the Mississippi when the final break-up took place, have no such tradition. The Mohicans of New York were alike destitute of such a story, while the Narragansetts and Abenakis of the east, and the Pamunkeys of the south, had no such exploit to boast of in narrating their nurtured traditions. There is no account or hint of any such story in the history of any tribe of Indians, east, west, north or south; and as the two tribes who crossed the Mississippi, in this legend, peopled the whole country east of the big river, it seems impossible that the tradition of such an event should have died out of every memory except in those of a few old blowhards under missionary tutelage at Bethlehem. There is, in fact, no corroboration whatever for the story covered by this tradition. It rests solely upon the unsupported authority of a few chattering old Delawares.

It is Gallatin, I think, who suggests that the Delawares, from whom this legend was drawn, must have framed it on the pattern of the story of the escape of the Israelites from Egypt. They must have gathered their recollections together of the Israelites' escape, from the teachings of the missionaries, and adapted them to a supposed similar escape of their own tribe from beyond the Mississippi. An Indian's recollections of a Biblical event, narrated by the missionaries, would naturally, in a retrospect, fuse with ideas of the history of his own tribe and event-

ually take the shape of a tradition handed down from generation to generation.

The first point in this tradition that excites attention and challenges investigation, is that it reverses the well-known rule regarding the migration of tribes and people. The tradition makes the migration take place from west to east; the rule is, that it is uniformly from east to west. All the great migrations of history have been from the east to the west. What was there in the history of these two tribes that made it necessary to reverse the train and run it on the back track? The west in those days, so far as is known, was as far in advance of the east as it was in Heckewelder's time, as an Indian paradise. What was it that drove them out to find poorer fields on the more barren Atlantic coast? The very fact that this legend rests on such a reversal of a natural rule casts suspicion on it. The story is built on an unnatural and improbable foundation.

The next point noticeable is that the Iroquois are constantly spoken of only as "Mengwe," and never as Iroquois. Mengwe, corrupted into Mingo, is the Delaware equivalent for "enemy," just as Nadewassioux was in Chippewa, the Sioux getting their name from the last syllable of this Chippewa word. But why, in speaking of events many hundred years old, speak of the Iroquois as Mengwe, enemies, when they were *not* enemies, but friends and friendly allies? It was centuries after these supposed events before they became Mengwe, and the name was so inapplicable that it is marvelous Heckewelder did not notice it. No truthful narrator, mindful of the har-

mony of the details of his narrative, would speak of his friends and allies as his enemies. The constant recurrence of Mengwe brands the whole story as of modern concoction.

The etymology of Mississippi given in this legend *may* be Heckewelder's, and is not farther wrong than was his subsequent etymology of Ohio, but I incline to think he does not offer it as his own, and merely includes it as a part of the legend as he got it from his Delaware interlocutors. If so, the narrators were as far wrong in their etymology as in their history. Namaes-sipu, "Fish river," would be a name as applicable to any other river as to the Mississippi. All rivers, "many hundred years ago," were Fish rivers, whatever they may be now, and we have too much regard for the intelligence of all the parties, to suppose that either the Iroquois or the Lenape or the Allegewi would be guilty of applying so generic a name to a specific river. The Allegewi and the Iroquois could not have applied it, for the name is exclusively Delaware in its origin, and the Lenape were probably as innocent of inventing it as they were of crossing the river it is applied to. The accent in Namaes is upon the last syllable; so that the name of the river would sound as Na-mass-sipu, instead of Miss-issippi. It is a wonder that Heckewelder did not cite the pronunciation current among the corn-crackers of Mass-issippi, as a remnant of the original name given in the legend.

The Delaware narrators of this story plainly gave Heckewelder the name *Tallegewi*, as applicable to the tribe that disputed the passage of the Mississippi;

but although asking implicit faith in their narrative, he coolly throws them aside, and calls Colonel John Gibson in to supersede them, upon whose authority he gives *Allegewi* as the proper name. But what did Colonel John Gibson know about it? He was a good Indian scholar, but he knew nothing whatever about this name, and his version of the name is a mere supposition, with nothing to rest on. If the legend has any authority at all, it certainly ought to be as conclusive on the name as on the event. The name *Tallegewi* has an alleged tradition to rest on; while *Allegewi* rests solely on an unfounded supposition of an outsider. Heckewelder adopts it because it falls in with his theory as to the origin of the name *Allegheny*. "The Delawares," he makes his narrators say, "still call the former (the Allegheny) *Allegewi-sipu*, the River of the Allegewi," when it is the Tallegewis they are talking about. He admits, however, that it "still retains the *ancient* name, Allegheny." Now, Heckewelder must have known that "Allegheny" is purely of Delaware origin, and that there is no trace, anywhere, of its ever having been known or spoken of among the Delawares as "*Allegewi-sipu*," except in this solitary instance.

His admission here, that "we have adopted the Iroquois name, Ohio," is in singular contrast with his labored effort, not long after, to prove that "Ohio" was not Iroquois at all, but of Unami origin.

In some other of Heckewelder's writings he hints that the *Tallegewi*, driven south by their conquerors, were the Cherokees, who call themselves *Tsallakee*. He thought that *Tsallakee* was the legitimate descendant of *Tallegewi*; but what, then,

becomes of Gibson's Allegewi, and of Allegewi-sipu? It is hard to build two contradictory theories upon one name.

There is no evidence, outside of this unsupported tradition, that any such people as the *Tallegewi* or *Allegewi* ever had an existence here or anywhere else. According to the tradition, their home was upon the Mississippi, and not upon the Allegheny; and the name of the latter, being purely of Delaware origin, cannot be cited as evidence that they left their name upon a river nearly a thousand miles east of them. The whole legend appears to

have been manufactured to pour into a willing and credulous ear, its main purpose having been to glorify the Lenape at the expense of the Iroquois. We do not say that there never was such a tribe, for that no one knows, but that there is no evidence of their having ever existed. A legend, corroborated by other testimony, may be considered as evidence; but an unsupported legend, without a particle of corroboration, is a legend, or myth, and nothing more. History must be built upon something more solid than this.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

THE PROHIBITION PARTY: ITS ORIGIN, PURPOSE AND GROWTH.

I.

IN order to write a history of the Prohibition party that shall do justice to its founders by placing them before the public in a light that will make their motive clearly understood, it is necessary to go back some ways in the history of temperance agitation in this country. We promise to make this introductory part as brief as possible, and at the same time not leave the reader without a fairly good idea of the movements of men and parties which induced a comparatively few men to break the bonds of party heretofore binding them and strike out into what they knew would be a long and laborious undertaking.

In studying this question we must keep in view the difference between the cause of temperance and the prohibition movement. The first *may* lead up to the

other; the second will, when successfully administered, enforce the other. The first is a principle of personal government, each person acting for himself or herself under religious, moral, physical or intellectual restraint; the second is the political or governmental action of a body of citizens combined for what they believe to be the best good of the community. The first is the government of the individual by himself; the second is the governing of a business by organized government, a police regulation in furtherance of what the people no doubt believe to be good government.

It is a somewhat noticeable fact that when the people first begin to move in the matter of antagonizing the liquor traffic to lessen its evils or to save the people from its ravages, they always first

appeal to the government. It seems perfectly natural that the government should step in and defend the people against this great devouring evil. But we also see that after only one or two steps in this direction are taken, there is at once an influence brought to bear on government (whether it be that of monarchies or republics) not to do anything to injure the traffic. The first refuge of the traffic when assailed is license, usually proposed and formulated into law by those who believe or pretend to believe that licensing the business of selling liquor is a step toward its ultimate prohibition, by some sort of evolution never yet explained or demonstrated.

Very early in the history of this country the evils of intemperance were remarked upon. During the War of the Revolution these evils were regarded by the more intelligent and earnest patriots as an enemy that decimated the ranks more than the armies in their front, and were more productive of disorder and discontent than all other causes combined. The demoralization from this cause immediately after the war was very great, and became so alarming that congress, on February 27, 1777, passed the following resolution :

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the several legislatures in the United States immediately to pass laws the most effective for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived if not quickly prevented."

This, we are sorry to say, is the last utterance of the American congress that breathes anything like the true principle on which government should proceed in re-

lation to this subject. Probably someone suggested to the wise legislators that "you will injure our party, you had better go slowly with that matter," and that suggestion has been kept ever before their eyes and they have forever gone slowly. And what movement they have shown has been slowly backward.

About this time Dr. Benjamin Rush—one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence—a man whose whole life and great talent were devoted to the highest services of his country, delivered numerous addresses and wrote numerous articles, in which he set forth clearly the necessity of the hour and the duty of government in relation to the drink habit and traffic. As has been said by a late writer, "What a babbler he must have seemed," surrounded by a nation of drunkards; by ministers of the gospel who drank constantly with their people and often officiated in the most sacred capacity while under the influence of intoxicants; living among people who had been educated from their youth that no occasion of festivity or mourning was complete without the flowing bowl.

His wise words seem to shine out like one bright star in an otherwise black sky.

The next great light thrown upon this subject was from Dr. Lyman Beecher. One of his biographers says of him that about 1814 (while located at Litchfield, Connecticut), "The vice of intemperance had become a common one in New England, even the formal meetings of the clergy being not infrequently accompanied with gross excesses. Mr. Beecher resolved to take a stand against this vice, and preached and published his six famous

sermons on temperance, which contained passages the eloquence of which is hardly exceeded by anything in the English language." If not another word of this great man's preaching or writing had been preserved, these sermons alone would stamp him as a man of great and comprehensive mind—one having a deep insight into the passions of the human heart, and one who could not only see the inevitable results of the indulgence of those passions, but could look ahead into the future and picture clearly the great work that lay before the American people in their effort to rid themselves of this gigantic evil. In one of these lectures he says, "In our views and in our practice as a Nation there is something fundamentally wrong, and the remedy, like the evil, must be found in the correct application of general principles. It must be a universal and National remedy. What then is this universal, natural and National remedy for intemperance? It is the banishment of ardent spirits from the list of lawful articles of commerce."

From that time on, other men began thinking and agitating in this line. First the effort was against the excessive use of intoxicating beverages; and, in order to do this, various societies were organized, such as the Sons of Temperance, Good Templars and others. Among these agitators were always to be found men who looked further into this subject than to the mere passive means, to those of protection to the individual and society, and from time to time spoke out in plain words their convictions. In 1823 Henry Ware, in an address on the "Criminality of Intemperance," said: "*There is no man, or*

body of men, who can strike at the root of the evil but by the legislature of the Nation."

Dr. Justin Edwards, in his sixth report of the American Temperance society, on the "Immorality of License Laws," said, in 1833: "The point to be decided—to be decided by legislatures of these United States—to be decided for all coming posterity, for the world and for eternity—is, Shall the sale of ardent spirits, as a drink, be treated in legislation as a virtue or a vice? Shall it be licensed, sanctioned by law and perpetuated, to roll its all-pervading curses onward interminably; or shall it be treated, as in truth it is, a sin?" In 1837 the board of managers of the Pennsylvania State Temperance society presented a memorial to the convention for revising the constitution of the state, which strongly urged the convention not to place in the constitution the power to license the liquor traffic. In 1838 Edward C. Delevan, who had been one of the most earnest and liberal friends of temperance, wrote to Dr. John Marsh: "Throw out your light; teach the people to feel that they are the law-makers; show all friends of temperance the folly of sending drinking men to our legislative halls and then sending petitions to save the community from the ruinous effects of their own practice." The first effort at legislation in the direction of total prohibition was in Maine, in 1837. This action was followed by other states, but nothing more dangerous to the traffic was enacted than some mild forms of local option laws until, in 1851, Neal Dow drafted the Maine law. It was enacted by the legislature and was hailed everywhere by the friends of temperance as being perfect

in its principle and adaptation. The Maine law became the model for other state laws until, in 1855, fourteen different states had adopted laws of the same kind

or very similar. To show the enactment of these laws in the several states, and by what political party enacted, we give the following table :

	State.	Date.	Governor.	Politics.	Politics of Legislature.
1	Maine	June 2, 1851.....	Hubbard.....	Democratic.....	Democratic.
2	Minnesota.....	March, 1852.....	Ramsey.....	Democratic.....	Democratic.
3	Rhode Island.....	March 7, 1852.....	Allen.....	Democratic.....	Democratic.
4	Massachusetts.....	May 27, 1852.....	Winthrop.....	Whig.....	Dem. & Free-Soil.
5	Vermont.....	November 23, 1852.....	Fairbanks.....	Whig.....	Whig.
6	Michigan.....	February 12, 1853.....	McClelland.....	Democratic.....	Democratic.
7	Connecticut.....	June 16, 1854.....	Dutton.....	Whig.....	D. & Am. & Neb.
8	Indiana.....	February 8, 1855.....	Wright.....	Dem. & Anti-Neb.	D. & Am. & Neb.
9	Delaware.....	February 27, 1855.....	Causey.....	American.....	American.
10	Iowa.....	February, 1855.....	Grimes.....	Whig & Rep.....	Whig & Rep.
11	Nebraska.....	April, 1855.....	Izard.....	Democratic.....	Democratic.
12	New York.....	April 19, 1855.....	Clark.....	Fusion.....	Whig.
13	New Hampshire.....	July 14, 1855.....	Metcalf.....	American.....	American.
14	Illinois.....	February 16, 1855.....		American.....	W. & Anti-Neb.

During the time that this legislation was being enacted the agitation of the slavery question was becoming more and more violent, and the attention of everyone was turned to that one question ; and it must be remembered also, that at that time the Republican party was making loud protestations of being a temperance party, and indeed in some states they were making these professions good by enforcing temperance laws already on the statute book and strengthening them by further legislation. This was especially true in the states of Maine and Vermont, and for a time in Massachusetts. At the call of the country for its loyal sons to come to the rescue of the Union, the friends of temperance dropped for a time the agitation of their favorite question. Not so the liquor interest. In 1862, when the government was writhing, as it were, in the grasp of the great Rebellion, the Beer Brewers' congress was organized, and they have continued to hold their annual sessions every

year since. In the introduction of its constitution is the following presentation of its political animus and objects, and forever settles the question as to the intention of that body of men to make their protection sure by bringing to bear such influences on both the then existing parties as to insure their safety. It reads as follows :

"2d. That the owners of breweries are separately unable to exercise a *proper influence* in the interest of the craft in the *legislature and public administration*.

"3d. That it appears especially necessary for the brewing trade that its interests be vigorously and energetically prosecuted before the *legislative and executive departments*, . . . exerting a direct as well as an indirect influence on *political* and social relations."

A further motive for its organization is stated to be "to foster and protect the trade from many threatening dangers," and name these to be :

"1st. The progress of the prohibition cause : Thirteen states and territories having enacted the Maine law.

"2d. Taxation that would cripple the beer trade."

At the various meetings of this congress, representatives of the revenue department of the government were present, notably, Green S. Raum, commissioner of internal revenue, who on several occasions delivered speeches of congratulations and commendation, and assured the members he was there to learn their wishes and, if possible, comply with their requests as to any changes in the administration of the laws in his power, in the way of making the collection of the taxes less irksome.

At the Brewers' congress, held in Chicago in 1867, the report of a committee "on the menacing attitude of temperance and Sabbatarian fanatics toward the business" contained the following resolution :

"WHEREAS, The action and influence of the Temperance party is in direct opposition to the principles of individual freedom and political equality upon which our American Union is founded ; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we will use all means to stay the progress of this fanatical party, and to secure our individual rights as citizens, and that we will sustain no candidate, of whatever party, in any election, who is in any way disposed toward the total abstinence cause."

At the eighth Beer Brewers' congress, held at Buffalo, July 8, 1868, this resolution was adopted :

"*Resolved*, That we will continue in the future, as we have in the past, to battle for the promotion of the cause of civil and

religious liberty throughout the United States ; that we will use all honorable means to deprive the political and puritanical temperance men of the power they have so long exercised in the councils of the political parties in this country, and that, for that purpose, we will support no candidate for any office who is identified with this illiberal and narrow-minded element."

These resolutions are only samples. They could be multiplied by hundreds, passed and flaunted in the face of the public, by every gathering of the foes of temperance legislation. And it must be remembered that it was during the time that these meetings were held and resolutions were being passed that a large part of the temperance and prohibitory legislation, heretofore alluded to, disappeared from the statute books of the various states. The better part of the communities were engaged in the effort to secure the results of the war and to resume specie payment. The saloon interest were busy building up their traffic, and when, in caucus, two candidates were proposed, both sound on the financial and reconstruction questions, the only question was, which one are we most likely to elect ? And the beer interest, by acting on the principle laid down in the foregoing resolutions, were able to make it appear that the man who was a defender of beer was the man who had the most strength before the people. Thus it was that while the loyal and temperate citizens of this country were engaged in furthering the cause of freedom and good government in one direction, the makers and venders of beer and

whiskey, on the other hand, were stealing the prohibitory laws off the statute books. While Americans were striking the shackles from four millions of black men and securing their liberty, the liquor traffic, almost entirely carried on and managed by foreigners and those who do not understand our institutions, was letting loose a more relentless, tireless and deadly foe than the blood-hound, on all the millions in our borders, and binding the shackles of a more degrading and onerous slavery on more men than the war had freed, or had fallen in defense of the government. But at last the time came when earnest, thoughtful men saw all this and began to cast about for a remedy. In various localities and at various times they made efforts to act in the old political parties as they had done before the war, but they found a new element in control of those parties. Instead of the thoughtful, high-minded men, bent upon a great purpose, they found parties with no purpose but victory over each other, and leaders with no purpose but spoils. The men who had made the Democratic and Republican parties had almost entirely disappeared, and in their places some good men but more corrupt ones, and all controlled by a vicious caucus system, by which the slums were able to pollute the fountain-head of all legislative action, in a measure controlling the judiciary and corrupting the legislative and executive branches of the government.

They found that the leaders of these two parties had read the resolutions we have set forth above, and that they had learned by experience that these men were in earnest in their determination to support

no party that did not stand by them in their demands for free beer and a Godless Sunday.

They found that these party managers could weigh up the *vote* of the beer element on the one side against the petitions, resolutions and prayers of the other, and had found that the *beer vote* was the only one on which there was any doubt as to where it would be found on election day. That vote had to be secured, and to do that every remonstrance of the friends of temperance was disregarded. This was the condition of politics on this question from the close of the war until the radical friends of temperance in 1867 began declaring for separate political action, to which declaration they felt themselves impelled by the position of the old parties and their utter helplessness in those parties.

At the General State Temperance convention of Pennsylvania, held at Harrisburg, February, 1867, the following was adopted :

"*Resolved*, That while we do not wish to enter the arena of political or party strife, yet believing the ballot to be the freeman's weapon, and that temperance has its political as well as moral aspects, and when it becomes necessary the one mode of advocacy has equal claims with the other, we think it proper to declare that if the adversaries of temperance shall continue to receive the aid and countenance of present political parties, we shall not hesitate to break over political bands and seek redress through the ballot-box."

The Grand Lodge of Good Templars of Pennsylvania was in session (June 17, 1867) at Pittsburgh when the beer brewers' resolve upon political action (at Chi-

cago) was published, and the following resolution is part of the action taken thereon by that body:

"Resolved, That as the Beer Brewers' Congress of the United States, at their session in Chicago, and the Liquor League of Philadelphia, have declared that they 'will sustain no candidate, of whatever party, in any election, who is any way disposed toward the total abstinence cause,' we do accept the issue thus made, and declare that we will not vote for men who countenance the liquor traffic, or downgrade their official positions by the use of intoxicating liquors."

At the session of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars, at Richmond, Indiana, May 28, 1868, the following was adopted:

"WHEREAS, We are convinced of the absolute necessity of political action in order to the uniform and ultimate success of the temperance reform; and

"WHEREAS, It is evident that neither of the now existing parties will formally adopt our principles; therefore,

"Resolved, That we recommend to the temperance people of the country the organization of a National political party, whose platform of principles shall contain prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage."

In 1868 the Prohibitionists of Illinois organized, but we believe that organization was not continued for any great length of time. A temperance political party was also organized in Michigan in that year, but we have no evidence that its organization has been continued, or that it was

ever regularly merged in the Prohibition party of that state.

The Sixth National Temperance convention in the order (beginning with that of 1833), held at Cleveland, Ohio, July 29-30, 1868, declared that:

"WHEREAS, The liquor dealers of our country have declared the traffic in intoxicating drinks to be a legitimate part of American commerce, and deny the right to prohibit or restrict the same, and, through their leagues and congresses have repeatedly avowed their purpose to vote for no man in favor of total abstinence, and have constantly used their political power for the continuance of their trade, and have in the past received the countenance of political parties in support of the positions thus assumed; therefore,

"Resolved, That in behalf of the public peace and welfare, we accept the issue, and will meet them at the polls in resistance of these iniquitous demands.

"Resolved, That temperance, having its political as well as moral aspects and duties, demands the persistent use of the ballot for its promotion, . . . and we exhort the friends of temperance by every practical method, in their several localities, to secure righteous political action for the advancement of the cause."

About this time numerous conventions and meetings of various temperance orders resolved in favor of separate political action, notably those of the State Temperance convention of Pennsylvania, held at Harrisburg in February, 1887, and of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars at Richmond, Indiana, May 28, 1868, in which strong resolutions

were passed in answer to those of the friends of the liquor traffic and more or less clearly declaring for independent political action.

In the fall of 1868 Jay Odell of Cleveland addressed letters to a number of prominent persons in the country, setting forth the effects of the drink traffic, and suggesting the method of a separate political party to take up the work of its destruction, and asking these men. this question: "What shall be done to change this state of things?"

These letters were addressed, among others, to Henry Ward Beecher, Gerritt Smith, Charles G. Finney. To some he received no answer—notably that to Mr. Beecher—some with apparent interest, and some with indifference. President Finney wrote: "It was a very grave question, one of great importance; that the church was not doing its duty in that regard; it was backing and filling and was cowardly and too conservative. He would gladly aid the new movement, but his advanced age, his declining physical vigor and his multiplicity of duties would prevent him from entering as actively in the work as he could wish."

We will now give as briefly as possible the immediate movements which led up to and accomplished the

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY OF OHIO.

At the meeting of the State Temperance Alliance in Columbus in the winter of 1868-9, the committee on political actions was composed of F. Merrick of Delaware, L. B. Silver of Salem (now of Cleveland), and Malon Chance. There

was a majority and minority report on the subject of separate political action, Merrick and Chance on the former and Silver on the latter. In the morning, before Silver arrived at the convention (being detained at his hotel by illness), the majority report was adopted, but Silver persisted in reporting his minority resolution, which was as follows:

"Resolved, That the time has come when the temperance people of Ohio should form themselves into a political party based upon the legal prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

This resolution came within a few votes of passing, and would, no doubt, have been adopted had not the majority resolution, not demanding immediate separate party action, already been passed. In the spring following, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1869, Jay Odell, George P. Burwell, Grove N. Abbey, Dr. M. G. Tyrrill, Dr. Merrick, J. A. Spencer and others nominated, in the city of Cleveland, the first distinctively Prohibition ticket of which we have any record. It was a city ticket, on which was the name of Grove N. Abbey for mayor. This ticket received 1,049 votes.

During the same winter and early spring Dr. M. G. Tyrrill, chairman of committee of Temperance league, addressed a circular letter to a large number of known temperance advocates throughout the state, from which the following extracts are taken:

"CLEVELAND, OHIO, 1869.

"DEAR SIR:—We have been led to believe that you are in favor of political action as applied to temperance and for

the advancement of the cause. By political action we mean a determination to vote only for openly pledged temperance men, on an independent platform, whose planks shall be total abstinence and prohibition of the liquor traffic. . . . From present party organizations, as organizations, we have nothing to expect. They, at best, ignore our principles and evade any frank discussion of our measures.

" . . . We earnestly ask you to give us your name to be appended to a call for a state convention to be held at an early day at some central and accessible point, then and there to organize a State Temperance party, . . . that by agitation and persistent labor in due time we may hope to gain the final victory and redeem our state from the thralldom of the drunkard-makers' rule.

"You will oblige us by an early answer to this communication, with such suggestions as you may deem necessary, addressed to the undersigned.

"Dr. M. G. TYRRILL,

"Chairman of Committee of Temperance League."

To this letter several hundred answers were received—more than one hundred being from Cuyahoga county, and in all fifty-two counties in the state were heard from.

The call for a state meeting was as follows :

CALL FOR A STATE TEMPERANCE CONVENTION TO ORGANIZE A STATE TEMPERANCE PARTY.

The prevalence of intemperance and its concomitant evils—pauperism, crime, disease and death.

The fact that with our present unorgan-

ized temperance strength, we are unable to elect men to office pledged to our principles, thus failing to secure the enforcement of even existing laws.

That present political organizations not only ignore the temperance issue, but, while making use of the whisky interest as the principal lever for the advancement of their ends, are working in *direct and open opposition* to temperance reformation, and that from them, as organizations, we have nothing to expect.

That our present temperance organizations, while doing good as far as their objects enable them, nevertheless are inoperative to perform the whole work of educating the people to temperance, which can only be done by making the subject a political question.

That the permanent success of any party depends upon the high moral stand which it takes.

That to this end, the principal plank in our platform should be the suppression of the liquor traffic, through a prohibitory liquor law, and the election of sober and upright men to office.

That while those connected with the whisky interest are openly pledged to cast their votes for no man favoring temperance or the enforcement of temperance laws, we accept the challenge thus defiantly sent forth, and will demonstrate our consistency by reversing the pledge.

That the question of most vital importance to our state and country at the present moment is temperance, and as such, demands immediate and determined action at the hands of all who have a respect for the Sabbath, morality, intelligence, virtue, prosperity, home and country.

Recognizing these as facts, and believing that the time for action is now, and that a longer delay would not only be injudicious, but highly criminal, with an abiding faith in the justice of our principles, we ask of all who are in favor of immediate, determined and independent political action, as applied to temper-

ance, AND NONE OTHERS, to meet with us in convention at Crestline on the fourteenth and fifteenth of April, 1869, there to organize a State Temperance party, with prohibition of the liquor traffic for its foundation.

GEORGE L. CASE.

[*To be continued.*]

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

X.

THE MECHANICAL DEVELOPMENT.

THIS chapter is not undertaken with the purpose of furnishing a technical or scientific description or history of the mechanical department of the American railroad. The author lays no claim to that special preparation which such treatment would essentially demand, in the first instance; and in the second, the work has been so thoroughly and adequately performed already by great engineers and railroad specialists, that it would be a thankless task to follow along that well-beaten pathway.

But there is a branch of the subject that has not been so thoroughly pursued—that has not been followed at all, so far as I can discover—and that is, to follow chronologically the announcements of the mechanical wonders and improvements of the railroad from day to day, and the comment upon them, during that fruitful period from about 1828 to 1840—that most prolific season of discovery and surprise. Following the plan that has been already pursued in these pages, the story can be largely and most graphically told in the language of those to whom it all came as

a revelation, and whose wonder or incredulity give to the narrative a point and crispness which would be lost in the more careful and commonplace repetition of another.

The declarations of these onlookers and commentators are given as they come from the records of the day, and are not of necessity endorsed as a true statement of the case at all times, simply because they are reproduced. The prophecy that is not fulfilled, at times becomes as charged with meaning as that which is.

The mechanical genius of America was early turned toward improvements upon various kinds of machinery of which steam was the moving power; and an interesting field of research in that direction is opened in the records of the American patent office. One of the measures passed by congress, under the newly adopted Constitution, was the law by which, in 1790, the right to enjoy letters patent was permitted to the inventors of new machines or processes, or improvements upon old ones. The board having the matter in control

consisted of the secretary of state, the secretary of war and the attorney-general; and the life of such patents was to be fourteen years. The first issued under this law was on July 1, 1790, and only two followed in the course of that year. In 1791 patents were granted to James Rumsey, John Fitch, Nathan Read, John Stevens and Englehart Cruse, severally, for "various modifications of steam apparatus, and for the application of steam as a motive power to navigation and other economical uses."* Several of these had already obtained exclusive privileges for the use of their inventions, from various state legislatures. In 1798 Nicholas I. Roosevelt and James Sullivan secured a patent for a double steam-engine, and soon after succeeded in the construction of an effective engine. Robert McKean, in the same year, patented a steam saw-mill—the first on record.

In 1801 Oliver Evans, an inventor and enthusiast, whose remarkably fulfilled prophecy as to the eventual construction of steam roads has been already given, completed, at his own expense, a small steam-engine, the success of which caused no small degree of excitement and comment. It had a six-inch cylinder and eighteen-inch stroke, and cost \$3,700. It was set to the humble task of grinding plaster of Paris, which had been recently introduced as a fertilizer, and was able to

dispose of twelve tons in twenty-four hours. "It was soon after employed to drive twelve saws, in sawing stone at the rate of one hundred feet of marble in twelve hours. This engine was upon the high-pressure system, since so extensively employed on railways, steam-boats and in factories, and which was this year patented by the Cornish engineer Trevithick, in England, whither Evans had sent drawings and specifications of his engine several times during the last twelve or fifteen years, during the whole of which time the inventor had continually urged its importance for the propulsion of carriages, and of steamboats on the western rivers, by the aid of paddle-wheels. It was commenced in the last year, his original purpose being to construct a locomotive steam-carriage, as a debt of honor to the state of Maryland, which, in 1786, granted him exclusive privileges for the use of his improvements in flour-mills and steam-carriages, after his own state had rejected the latter as visionary. He had been unable to find any person to risk the expense, but was encouraged by Professor Robert Patterson of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Charles Taylor, a steam engineer from England, to whom he explained the principles of his engine, which they pronounced new to them. The Philosophical society also so far countenanced it as to reject that portion of a report on steam-engines, by B. F. Latrobe, esq., a scientific engineer of the city, in which he ridiculed the 'steam mania' of Evans and others. The society, however, retained a part of the

*A History of American Manufactures, from 1608 to 1860. Philadelphia, 1868, Vol. II., p. 32. In 1793 the above law was repealed, and on February 21 a new one was passed, prescribing the formalities to be observed in obtaining letters patent, the rights of inventors and the fees to be paid.

report, in which Mr. Latrobe labored to show the impossibility of propelling boats economically by steam, on account of the engine—a scheme nearer realization in America than steam propulsion by land.”*

It would be an ungracious and almost an unpatriotic act to pass this remarkable inventor by, with merely a word as to his effect upon the mechanical development of America and his relation to steam inventions, when his whole life was given to labors which he lived to see so little rewarded and appreciated, and to dreams which only came true after his death. He was regarded as insane by the majority of the generation in which he lived, simply because he looked over the horizon that was beyond the vision of the mass. Had he lived a generation later, a large share of the honor given to others would undoubtedly have been awarded to him, and his wildest dreams stood forth as accomplished facts. How much or how little Oliver Evans actually performed it might be difficult to say, but he was, beyond doubt, one of the pioneers of steam invention who laboriously opened the road to others.

Yet how little we know of him and how few give him a thought when speaking of the inventive genius of America. That little would be even less, had he not, in 1812, been persuaded to place upon record a brief story of his life and labors, a fragment full even yet of a deep life interest, but buried

long since in forgetfulness.† Some portions thereof cannot but be worthy of quotation, as illustrating the dim groping towards results so near at hand in fact and yet so far away to the vision; and as showing the dull conservatism that relegated to Bedlam a great idea, simply because it was too large to be grasped and measured by the ignorance of the age. He tells us how his attention was first turned toward the great object to which his whole life was devoted: “About the year 1772, being then an apprentice to a wheelwright or wagon-maker, I labored to discover some means of propelling land carriages without animal power. All the modes that have since been tried (so far as I have heard of them), such as wind, treadles with ratched wheels, cranktooth, etc., to be wrought by men, presented themselves to my mind, but were considered too futile to deserve an experiment, and I concluded that such motion was impossible for want of a suitable original power.

“But one of my brothers, on a Christmas evening, informed me that he had that day been in company with a neighboring blacksmith’s boy, who, for amusement, had stopped up the touch-hole of a gun-barrel, then put in about a gill of water and rammed down a tight wad—after which they put the breech in the smith’s fire, when it discharged itself with as loud a crack as if

* ‘A History of American Manufactures,’ Vol. II., p. 97.

† Evans’ statement in full may be found in ‘Niles’ Register,’ No. 48, June 27, 1835, p. 296. It bears the caption: “Steam-boats and Steam-wagons,” and the date Ellicott’s Mills, November 13, 1812.

it had been loaded with powder. It immediately occurred to me that here was the power to propel any wagon, if I could only apply it, and I set myself to work to find out the means. I labored for some time without success. At length a book fell into my hands describing the old atmospheric *steam-engine*. I was astonished to observe that they had so far erred as to use the steam only to form a vacuum to apply the elastic power of the steam for original motion—the power which I supposed irresistible. I renewed my studies with increased ardor, and soon declared that I could make steam-wagons, and endeavored to communicate my ideas to others; but, however practicable the thing appeared to me, my object only excited the ridicule of those to whom I made it known. But I persevered in my belief, and confirmed it by experiments that satisfied me of its reality.

“In the year 1786 I petitioned the legislature of Pennsylvania for the exclusive right to use my improvements in flour-mills, as also steam-wagons, in that state. The committee to whom the petition was referred heard me very patiently while I described the *mill* improvements, but my representations concerning *steam-wagons* made them think me insane. They, however, reported favorably respecting my improvements in the manufacture of flour, and passed an act granting me the exclusive use of them as prayed for.”

The act to which reference is made was passed in March, 1787. No notice at all was taken of his ideas in refer-

ence to steam-wagons. But nothing deterred, the inventor made a similar application to the legislature of Maryland, and candidly informed the committee, to whom the matter was referred, of his reception as to steam-wagons at the hands of the Pennsylvania law-makers, declaring that unless he was given the needed encouragement he would never undertake to make them, “but that, if they would secure to me the right as requested, I would, as soon as I could, apply the principle to practice.” “I explained to them,” continues the narration, “the great elastic power of steam, as well as my mode of applying it to propel wagons. Mr. Hollingsworth very prudently observed that the grant could injure no one, for he did not think that any man in the world had thought of such a thing before; he therefore wished the encouragement might be afforded, as there was a prospect that it would produce something useful. This kind of argument had the desired effect, and a favorable report was made, May 21, 1787, granting to me, my heirs and assigns, for fourteen years, the exclusive right to make and use my improvements in flour-mills and the steam-wagons in that state. From that period I have felt myself bound in honor to the state of Maryland to produce a steam-wagon as soon as I could conveniently do it. In the year 1789 I paid a visit to Benjamin Chandlee & Sons, clock-makers, men celebrated for their ingenuity, with a view to induce them to join me in the expense and profits of the project. I showed to them my draughts, with the

plan of the engine, and explained the expansive power of steam; all which they appeared to understand, but fearful of the expense and difficulties attending it, declined the concern. However, they certified that I had shown to them the drawings and explained the powers, etc.

“In the same year I went to Endicott’s mills, on the Patapsco, near Baltimore, for the purpose of persuading Jonathan Ellicott & Brothers and connections to join me in the expense and profits of making and using steam-wagons. I also showed to them my drawings, and minutely explained to them the powers of steam. They appeared to fully comprehend all I said, and in return informed me of some experiments they themselves had made, one of which they showed me. They placed a gun-barrel, having a hollow arm, with a small hole on one side at the end of the arm, similar to Barker’s rotary tube-mill, as described in the books; a gill of water put into this barrel, with fire applied to the breech, caused the steam to issue from the end of the arm with such force as, by reaction, to cause the machine to revolve, as I judged, about one thousand times in a minute for the space of about five minutes, and with considerable force for so small a machine. I tarried here two days, using my best efforts to convince them of the possibility and practicability of propelling wagons on good turnpike roads by the great elastic power of steam. But they also feared the expense and difficulty of execution, and declined the proposition; yet they

heartily esteemed my improvements in the manufacture of flour, and adopted them in their mills, as well as recommended them to others.”

His ideas were communicated to others in the same year, but no one could be persuaded to undertake the great financial risk that would be involved. “But very few,” the inventor declares, with unconscious pathos, “could understand my explanations, and I could find no one willing to risk the expense of the experiment.” “In the year 1800, or 1801,” he continues, “never having found a man willing to contribute to the expense, or even to encourage me to risk it myself, it occurred to me that, though I was then in full health, I might be suddenly carried off by the yellow fever that had so often visited our city (Philadelphia), or by some other disease or casualty to which all are liable, and that I had not yet discharged my debt of honor to the state of Maryland by producing the steam-wagon. I determined, therefore, to set to work the next day to construct one. I first waited upon Robert Patterson, professor of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, and explained to him my principles, as I also did to Mr. Charles Taylor, steam engineer from England. They both declared these principles to be new to them and highly worthy of a fair experiment, advising me without delay to prove them, in hopes I might produce a more simple, cheap and powerful steam-engine than any in use. These gentlemen were the only persons who had such confidence or afforded me

such advice. I also communicated my plans to B. H. Latrobe at the same time, who publicly pronounced them chimerical, and attempted to demonstrate the absurdity of my principles in his report to the Philosophical Society of Pennsylvania on steam-engines, in which same report he also attempts to show the impossibility of making steam-boats useful on account of the weight of the engine, and I was one of the persons alluded to as being seized with the steam mania, conceiving that wagons and boats could be propelled by steam-engines. The liberality of the members of the society caused them to reject that part of the report which he designed as demonstrative of the absurdity of my principles, saying they had no right to set up their opinion as a stumbling-block in the road of any exertions to make a discovery. They said I might produce something useful and ordered it to be stricken out. What a pity they did not reject his demonstrations respecting steamboats! for, notwithstanding them, they have run, are now running and will run. So has my engine and all its principles completely succeeded, and so will land carriages as soon as these principles are applied to them, as explained to the legislature of Maryland in 1787 and to others long before.

"In consequence of the determination above alluded to, I hired hands and went to work to make a steam-wagon, and had made considerable progress when the thought struck me that, as my steam-engine was entirely different in form as well as in its principles from

all others in use, I could get a patent for it and apply it to mills more profitably than to wagons; for until now I apprehended that as steam mills had been used in England, I could only obtain a patent for wagons and boats. I stopped my work immediately and discharged my hands until I could arrange my engine for mills, laying aside the steam-wagon for a time of more leisure."

Two weeks later Evans commenced the construction of the small engine for the grinding of plaster of Paris, already described in the foregoing. He believed that one thousand dollars investment would see him through, but before he was done with his experiments he found that he had expended three thousand seven hundred—"All that I could command. I had now," he continued, "to begin the world anew at the age of forty eight, with a large family to support. I had calculated that if I failed in my experiment, the credit I had would be entirely lost, and without money or credit, at my advanced age, with many heavy incumbrances, my way through life appeared dark and gloomy indeed. But I succeeded perfectly with my little engine, and preserved my credit. I could break and grind three hundred bushels of plaster of Paris, or twelve tons, in twenty-four hours, and to show its operations more fully to the public, I applied it to saw stone on the side of Market street, where the driving of twelve saws, in heavy frames, sawing at the rate of one hundred feet of marble stone in twelve hours, made a great show and excited much attention. I

thought this was sufficient to convince the thousands of spectators of the utility of my discovery ; but I frequently heard them inquire if the power could be applied to saw timber as well as stone, to grind grain, propel boats, etc., and though I answered in the affirmative, I found they still doubted. I therefore determined to apply my engine to all new uses to introduce it and them to the public. This experiment completely tested the correctness of my principles, according to my most sanguine hopes. The power of my engine rises in a geometrical proportion, while the consumption of fuel has only an arithmetical ratio, in such proportion that every time I added one-fourth more to the consumption of fuel the powers of the engine were doubled ; and that twice the quantity of fuel required to drive one saw would drive sixteen saws at least ; for when I drove two saws, the consumption was eight bushels of coal in twelve hours, but when twelve saws were driven, the consumption was not more than ten bushels ; so that the more we resist the steam the greater is the effect of the engine. On these principles, very light, but powerful engines can be made without the great incumbrance of their own weight, as mentioned in Mr. Latrobe's demonstrations."

In 1804 Evans constructed, by order from the Philadelphia board of health, a machine for cleaning docks.* It consisted of a large scow, on board of which was a five horse-power steam-en-

gine, which operated machinery by which mud was elevated and dumped into scows in waiting. "This," declares the inventor, "was a fine opportunity to show the public that my engine could propel both land and water carriages, and I resolved to do it. When the work was finished I put wheels under it, and though it was equal in weight to two hundred barrels of flour, and the wheels fixed with wooden axle-trees, for this temporary purpose, in a very rough manner, and with great friction, of course, yet with this small engine I transported my burden to the Schuylkill with ease, and when it was launched in the water, I fixed a paddle-wheel at the stern and drove it down the Schuylkill to the Delaware, and up the Delaware to the city, leaving all the vessels going up behind me, at least half way, the wind being ahead. Some wise men undertook to ridicule my experiment of propelling this great weight on land, because the motion was too slow to be useful. I silenced them by answering them that I could make a carriage, to be propelled by steam, for a bet of \$3,000, to run upon a level road, against the swiftest horse they would produce. I was then as confident as I am now that such velocity could be given to carriages.

"Having no doubt of the great utility of steam-carriages on good turnpike roads with proper arrangements for supplying them with water and fuel, and believing that all turnpike companies were deeply interested in putting them into operation, because they would smooth and mend the roads instead of

* To this machine the inventor gave the name *Eruktor Amphibolis*.

injuring them as the narrow wheels do, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1804, I submitted to the consideration of the Lancaster Turnpike company a statement of the cost and profits of a steam-carriage to carry one hundred barrels of flour fifty miles in twenty-four hours, tending to show that one such steam-carriage would make more net profits than ten wagons drawn by ten horses each, on a good turnpike road, and offering to build such a carriage at a very low price. My address closed as follows: 'It is too much for an individual to put into operation every improvement which he may invent. I have no doubt but that my engine will propel boats against the current of the Mississippi, and wagons on turnpike roads, with great profit. I now call upon those whose interest it is to carry this invention into effect. All which is respectfully submitted for your consideration.'

In 1805 he published a book, 'The Young Engineer's Guide,' in which he described the principles of his engine. In the concluding portions of the narration, from which the above extracts are taken, are several descriptive paragraphs and comments, from which the following are culled at random: "I am still willing to make a steam-carriage that will run fifteen miles an hour, on good level railways, on condition that I have double price if it shall run with that velocity, and nothing for it if it shall not come up to that velocity."

"I have had the pleasure of hearing gentlemen of the keenest penetration, and of great mechanical and philosoph-

ical talents, freely give in to the belief that steam-carriages will become very useful."

"Mr. John Ellicott proposed to make roads of substances such as the best turnpikes are made with, with a path for each wheel to run on, having a railway on posts in the middle to guide the tongue of the wagon, and to prevent any other carriage from traveling on it. Then, if the wheels were made broad and the path smooth, there would be very little wear."

"When we reflect upon the obstinate opposition that has been made by a great majority to every step towards improvement—from bad roads to turnpikes, from turnpikes to canal, from canals to railways for horse carriages—it is too much to expect the monstrous leap from bad roads to railways for steam-carriages, at once. If the present shall adopt canals, the next may try the railways with horses, and the third generation use the steam-carriage." It must be remembered that this was written in 1812.*

Returning from this long, but perhaps excusable deviation, we resume once

*Mr. Niles, in explanation of the above narration ('Niles' Register,' No. 40, April 23, 1831), states that it was first published at Mr. Evans' expense, and printed as an *Addendum* to Vol. II. of the 'Register;' but as the copies fell short, all of the 'Registers' of that issue do not contain it. He adds: "The editor well remembers to have heard the same Oliver Evans, in his (the editor's) father's house, some time in 1787 or 1788, declare that 'the man was then living who would see the Ohio and Mississippi covered with steamboats, and the child born who would travel from Philadelphia to Boston, in one day,' by steamboats or wagons. The remembrance is perfect, because, being a child, he long regarded Mr. Evans as *cracked* because of such opinions."

more the thread of American steam invention and improvement. The next point of interest met, in 1803, is also connected with Oliver Evans. In consequence of letters written by him to parties in Kentucky, stating that he had his steam-engine in operation, Captain James McKeever of the United States navy, and Mr. Louis Valcour united in the building of a steamboat of eighty feet keel, to run between Natchez and New Orleans. The boat was built and floated down to New Orleans, to be supplied with an engine of Evans' build. "The subsidence of the river, which was not expected to rise again for six months, having left the boat on dry land, and the capital of the owners having been exhausted, they allowed Mr. William Donaldson to put up the engine in a saw-mill, and were astonished to learn that it was sawing three thousand feet of boards every twelve hours, when boards were selling at sixty dollars per thousand. They were now confident of succeeding with the steamboat, but were disappointed and ruined by the burning of the mill, after two previous incendiary attempts by hand sawyers, whereby they lost fifteen thousand dollars." This engine consumed one and a half cords of wood each day, ran over a year without getting out of order, and in 1810 was set at the task of pressing cotton. In 1804 Evans patented an improvement upon his engine in "the application of a new principle, by means of strong boilers, to retain and confine the steam; thereby increasing the heat in the water, which increases

the elastic power of the steam to a greater degree."

In 1810 Daniel French of New York patented a steam-engine for boats, mills, etc., with vibrating cylinder, and under the right thus secured, he supplied several of the first boats built on the Ohio. In 1811 a patent was granted Robert Fulton for improvements to the engine, and others to John Stevens of New York. In 1812 Colonel John Stevens, whose plan has been already quoted, published his celebrated work, 'Documents Tending to Prove the Superior Advantages of Railways and Steam-Carriages Over Canal Navigation'—an argument which the canal commissioners of New York dismissed with a response that plainly showed that Stevens was classed by contemporary opinion as but little more sound in mind than Evans. During the same year Mellen Battle of Herkimer, New York, was granted a patent for a rotary steam-engine. From the able work upon American manufactures, already quoted, we learn (page 180) that "Oliver Evans, the first steam-engine builder in the United States, had in operation, in February of this year, ten of his high-pressure engines, considered by many more economical and convenient for manufactories than Bolton and Watts. They were from ten to twenty-five horse-power, and were employed, one in Florida, two in Louisiana, one at Lexington, Kentucky, one at Natchez, Mississippi, one at Marietta, Ohio, two at Pittsburgh, one at Middletown, Connecticut, and one at

the Mars Iron works of the builder in Philadelphia. They performed the various operations of sawing timber, grinding grain, drawing wire, grinding glass, turning wood and metals, etc., manufacturing cloth and building steam-engines and machinery. Ten others, most of them of greater powers, were building or ordered, for saw- and grain-mills, paper-mills, rolling-mills, steam-boats, etc., etc. Stackhouse & Rogers built engines at Pittsburgh, under Evans' patent."

There were furnished in 1814 some very practical evidences that steam was to be the great moving power on American waters, no matter what might be its success on land. The steam ferry-boat *Nassau*, which cost three hundred thousand dollars, began regular trips between New York and Long Island; while Robert Fulton built at Pittsburgh, for eastern parties, the steamboat *Vesuvius*, of three hundred and forty tons. She was intended for the New Orleans trade and was one of the first three constructed in the west. "In July, with a cargo, she made one-half the distance from New Orleans to Louisville in ten days, which was regarded as nearly a demonstration of the ability of loaded boats to stem the current of the largest rivers by steam." Another vessel, the *Enterprise*, was built at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, this year, and was equipped with an engine made under D. French's patent. In December she carried a load of ordnance to New Orleans, and afterward made six hundred and twenty-four miles in six and one-half days. Of her history and an interest-

ing incident in her career, we are furnished this account: "This vessel was the first that ever ascended from New Orleans as far as Louisville, which she reached, in May, 1816, in twenty five days. She was commanded by Captain Henry M. Shreve, the inventor of the steam snagboat, to whom the citizens of Louisville gave a public dinner on the occasion. To Captain Shreve the western people considered themselves most indebted, next to Fulton, for the early establishment of steam navigation on their rivers, for having in December of this year, on the first visit of the *Enterprise* to New Orleans, and subsequently with the *Washington*, brought to a legal test the claim of Fulton and his partners to a monopoly of the use of steam propulsion. Both boats were seized as the captain desired, and, the trial having been carried up to the supreme court, resulted in the overthrow of the exclusive pretensions of the prosecutors."

An establishment was opened in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1817, for the manufacturing of steam- and fire-engines, especially steam-engines for boats, and for other machinery, with a capital of eighty thousand dollars, and employing one hundred men. It ran for some time with apparent success, but was compelled to suspend in 1820-21, because of the great financial pressure. In 1821 a patent was granted Minus Ward of Columbia, South Carolina, for an improvement in steam-engines—consisting of an alternating or rotary engine, which enabled the piston-rod to describe a rotary motion upon its extreme end, when turning a

wheel. Charles Williams of Boston also received one for improvements in railways. In a communication, published in the *Richmond Whig*, under date of December 13, 1845, Williams claims to have invented, in 1817, "a wooden railway, to remove dirt, and during this and the following year, to have planned a small engine in Boston, to use steam, and therefore to have been the first to apply steam to railroads, the first locomotive of Stephens having been copied from his invention."*

A great deal of interest was created upon this side of the sea in 1823, by the successful operations of an engine in the works of Jacob Perkins in London, which had received several patents from the British government. Among the features of special commendation attached to it were great simplicity of construction, economy of cost, weight of metal, space and quantity of water and fuel required, "which adapted it for navigation purposes—a great increase of power. A cylinder two inches in diameter, eighteen inches long, with a stroke of only twelve inches, gave the power of ten horses, at an expense of only eighteen hundred and forty-eight cubic inches of water and two bushels of coal daily." No claim of a new principle was made for it, but a new application of those already known. In 1824 a number of patents upon points connected with the steam-engine were issued; and it was also in this year that John Stevens of Hoboken, New Jersey, secured his, covering certain improvements in railways. In 1826 one was

granted to Joseph Eve of London, England, for improvements to the stationary engine, and of him we are told that "Eve's steam-engine, for which he obtained a patent in 1818, while a resident of Georgia, excited considerable interest in England for its novelty, having no parts in common with ordinary engines, no cylinder, piston, valve-cock, fly-wheel, crank, condenser or reciprocating parts whatever. It was rotary and high-pressure, and was impelled by the direct impulse of the steam acting on surfaces at right angles with the motion, securing its whole power under favorable circumstances." The same year saw a patent issued to D. Callings and J. D. Galup of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, for generating steam by anthracite; to William G. Berry and J. T. Osborn of Cincinnati, Ohio, for a locomotive saw-mill; and passing a little further along, we find, on December 10, 1828, "the first recorded patent for a locomotive steam-engine in America."† It was granted to William Howard of Baltimore.

Turning to the columns of the *Baltimore American* of cotemporary date, it will be discovered that "our worthy fellow-citizen, Dr. William Howard, civil engineer in the survey of the United States, has invented an improved *railway wagon*, which bids fair to make an important addition to the already great advantages and facilities

†These quoted words are taken from the '*American Manufactures*,' Vol. II., p. 332; but from what follows in the above, we are led to wonder whether it was a locomotive or a railroad car to which his patent applied.

* Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol. XIV., p. 249.

which are afforded by this kind of road." The purposes to be accomplished by the improvements of this "wagon" are dual: First, to lessen the whole amount of friction and to diminish, in the same proportion, the force necessary to propel a given load; and, second, to render the wagon capable of being moved with nearly the same ease and power on a serpentine as on a straight road. The main idea of the car seems to have consisted of friction wheels, working on an axle inside the road wheels.

Toward the end of 1828, Ross Winans of New Jersey made his appearance in Baltimore, then the great centre of railroad experiment and enterprise, and exhibited a model of what, for a better term, a Baltimore editor describes as "a rail wagon." Its weight was about one hundred and twenty-five pounds, and upon it was placed five hundredweight, with two men added. "The whole," says one account of the exhibition, "was drawn by a piece of twine, or pack-thread, playing over a pulley, by which a half-pound weight was suspended. . . . Thus this piece of pack-thread and half-pound power drew, across a large room," the wagon and its contents—a total of nine hundred and eighty-five pounds. John L. Sullivan, a civil engineer of Philadelphia, who examined the wagon, has left us this condensed description of the principle upon which the results were produced: "The principle of this improvement is founded in the effect of compound leverage, producing a slow movement at the bearing axle,

though the carriage proceeds with speed. This machine demonstrates that slow motion between rubbing surfaces diminishes friction in the ratio of that slowness. The object, then, of the improvement is to cause the axles which bear the load, between which and the superincumbent weight there must, of course, be rubbing, to move or revolve very much slower than the axles of the wheels which travel on the railway. Of course, this cannot be done with the last-mentioned axles alone, but is done by the axles of wheels which are made to move by resting on the revolving axles of the traveling wheels. It may be compared to one wagon upon another, the wheels of the upper one standing on rounded planes on the axles of the lower one. The upper wheels will move very slow, because they travel only the circumference of the axle on which they stand, and their axles as much slower as they are less in diameter, so that if the size of the upper wheels be half that of the lower ones, it may easily be that the relative motion of the upper axle to that of the periphery of the lower wheels may be as one to four or five hundred."

A test of a more practical character was made in January, 1829, also at Baltimore. A temporary railway fifty feet in length was laid down and a car placed upon it. The car itself weighed sixteen hundred pounds, and was given a load of fifteen hundred and sixty pounds, and thirty-four men in addition—a total weight of about eighty-two hundred pounds. This load was readily moved by one man. "The practical

test," says the report of the experiment, "which the invention of Mr. Winans' has thus undergone, has completely satisfied everyone who witnessed it of its high value and importance in railway transportation, and that it must once and forever settle the question of the superiority of railroads over canals. Our railroad company will have it in use on the great work they have in charge, and it must prove of almost incalculable advantage."

By a letter from Baltimore to the *National Intelligencer*, in the February following, it will be learned that the railroad managers are satisfied that by the aid of this car "a horse can pull thirty tons, with great ease, four miles an hour; we have, therefore, but one matter to ascertain, and that is: Will the wagon be durable? Our ablest mechanics say it will. We now have the wagons at work on the road, and a few weeks will settle this question."

Mr. Winans was not, however, to have this large field of profitable investment altogether to himself. Dr. William Howard, whose invention has already been mentioned, addresses the Baltimore *American* a long letter, under date of Charleston, South Carolina, January 20, 1829, in which he refers to Winans' car and declares that having "contrived a carriage," which "is intended, in part, to effect the same object as that of these gentlemen"—Winans and Sullivan—he deems it due to himself to ask the public to listen to an explanation of his own invention and the work he was sure it would accomplish. He then advances to his purpose in the following words:

"The carriage contrived by me is the result of long thought on the subject, and of many an hour's reflection during my solitary rides in the forests of western Maryland and Virginia, while engaged in the *reconnaissance* of the Baltimore & Ohio road. I soon perceived that it was impossible to find any route for this road which would not require numerous and sudden curvatures, which, without some better contrivance than the common carriage, would prove a serious detriment to the utility of the work. At the same time it appeared a great desideratum to lessen the traction on the road by means sufficiently simple to insure their practical utility, and to make the force of traction necessary to draw a given load on the railroad, at the greatest, not more than that required on a canal. These two objects, therefore, I have kept steadily in view, and I believe I have satisfactorily attained them. The diminution of friction is effected by a friction wheel placed over the rounded axle. The axle supports the whole weight of the carriage through the medium of these wheels. The use of a similar contrivance to diminish friction in machinery is so well known that its application to the present purpose appeared almost obvious, and I find since I have procured my patent, of which I was not aware at the time, that the same idea has occurred to several persons. This application of the friction wheel is also subsidiary to the other end attained by my carriage, that of moving in a curved road with scarcely any increase of friction, and which is effected in the follow-

ing manner: It is plain that when advancing on a curve the outer wheel of a carriage must move faster than the inner one. In the common construction, this can only be done by sliding on the rail. To obviate this I make either one or both wheels loose on the axle, but accurately fitted on it, so as to prevent as much as possible all lateral shaking. By this arrangement (the friction wheel insuring this) the wheels revolve with the axle, and only move independent of it a quantity sufficient to make up the difference of velocity between one wheel and its fellow when moving on a curve line. That the hind and fore wheels should follow each other accurately on a circular road, without lateral friction, it is necessary that their axles should be kept in the direction of the radii of the circles on which the carriage moves. This is effected by connecting these axles at a point equally distant from the centre of each. The effect of this connection is such that in the models I have made, when placed on the floor and adjusted to a given curve, the wheels, when chalked, make only a single track, and the carriage returns accurately to the place it set out from."

Dr. Howard confesses that it is due to "Mr. Minus Ward to state that after he had determined in his own mind the proper mode of forming this connection," and "had made a model to try it," he found, on reading Ward's pamphlet, that he had formed the idea and applied it to his locomotive some time before. "Although I had previously read this pamphlet," he adds, "I am not

aware that I received at all the suggestion from it, though I may have done so without being sensible of it."

Yet another Richmond was in the field, and in the same month we are informed by the *Baltimore Chronicle* that a "railroad car" was being constructed, under the direction of Mr. Isaac Knight, the inventor, "by that excellent machinist, Mr. John Rogers, at his workshop near Jones street." The principle upon which it was to work was very much like that of Winans, "the difference consisting alone in the manner of applying the friction wheels; these are placed upon the top of the main axles; are fixed within the side of the body of the carriage, and are so elevated as not to be incommoded by snow or mud." The *Baltimore American*, in describing the experiments with this car, says: "The president of the Baltimore & Susquehanna Railroad company, attended by several other gentlemen, was present when the experiment was made of starting and propelling the car (burdened with a load of one thousand pounds' weight) by a single thread of No. 40 sewing cotton. The same experiment was tried in the afternoon, with 1,205 pounds on the car, in the presence of a number of our most distinguished citizens, who were highly gratified, and came away fully impressed with the great value of the discovery, and of the peculiar advantages resulting from the manner in which Mr. Knight applies his friction wheels. As the public will doubtless soon be favored with a display of this wonderful car,

we shall content ourselves with barely saying it reflects great credit on the ingenious inventor, and that we feel assured it will command for him that patronage which he so justly merits."

Winans' cars were soon put to the test of actual labor and were not found wanting. Two were placed in immediate use on the Baltimore & Ohio in removing earth, while others were added as they were needed: "Four of these cars, each laden with two cubic yards of wet gravel and sand and weighing in all fifteen tons, are drawn backward or forward by a single horse, on a section of the road seven hundred yards long, though the railway itself is imperfectly and cheaply fitted for a temporary purpose, yielding considerably to the pressure of the weight upon them and, of course, increasing the labor of the horse."

The same vehicle was soon made the subject of tests upon the Charleston & Hamburg, where it achieved a like success. "I was present," states one witness, in the *Charleston Courier*, "and saw it loaded with 276 road iron plates, weighing 36 pounds each, making 9,936 pounds. This load was propelled by two hands on a level, with ease, and six hands propelled it up an ascent of 135 feet to the mile."

Some interesting experiments were made with cars on the Baltimore & Ohio, in December, 1829, in the presence of many visitors, from various parts of the country, who were gaining information for use elsewhere. They were kept up during the week, and the following are recorded among the results

that were produced: "One horse, with the same apparent ease that he would have drawn a gig over a smooth, hard road, moved two of Winans' cars, laden with forty-one persons, at the rate of between ten and eleven miles an hour. The distance traveled, out and in, was about five miles.

"Another horse drew twenty-five persons, on a carriage of another construction, to the end of the rails and back, at a lively trot. A second trip was made with the same horse, carriage and load, at the rate of twelve miles an hour. A single horse then drew two carriages and fifty-five persons nine miles an hour; a third carriage was attached, and the whole loaded with eighty-four men and women, and the horse performed the trip with the same ease and velocity. Another carriage, with seven persons, was driven by a winch, worked by two of them. Two dogs, attached to a car, trotted off with a load of six persons."

The Winans' car, as representing American ingenuity and mechanism, obtained an early recognition and use in England, patents upon it not only being secured in the United States but in the United Kingdom. The *Liverpool Mercantile Advertiser* of August 3, 1829, devotes extended space to its description and to the details of a trial upon the Liverpool & Manchester, and earnestly congratulates "the public and the proprietors of railroads on this discovery."

Before proceeding to a consideration of the development of the locomotive engine subsequent to the Rainhill experi-

ments already given, it seems almost necessary to give a more detailed genesis of that remarkable and revolutionizing piece of mechanism than has yet been attempted; and in doing so, the freest use will be made of the researches and investigations, and in many cases the language, of that excellent authority, Nicholas Wood, who was one of the ablest, as he was one of the first, writers upon railway mechanism.*

The slow progress of the steam engine has been already shown, up to the time of Watt. Its early labors for a long time, even after the actual construction of an engine of a practical character, were almost entirely confined to the raising of water by means of pumps—heavy, unwieldy, complicated and confined to narrow limits of usefulness. When the genius of Watt was applied to it, much of this was changed. Its action was no longer “confined to a rectilinear motion, or that of pumping water, but converted into a rotary motion, and applied to almost every manufactory.” In a note appended to an edition of Robinson’s ‘*Mechanical Philosophy*,’ Watt himself says of the first dawning idea in his mind of the possibility of a locomotive engine: “My attention was first directed, in the year 1759, to the subject of steam-engines, by the late Dr. Robinson, then a student in the University of Glasgow, and nearly of my own age. He, at that time, threw out an idea of applying the power of the steam-engine to the moving of wheel-carriages and to other

purposes, but the scheme was soon abandoned, on his going abroad.” He also experimented somewhat with steam, acting by its expansive force, but did not carry out his idea of constructing an engine on that principle. He further says: “I described this engine in the fourth article of my patent in 1769, and again, in the specification of another patent in the year 1784, together with a mode of applying it to the moving of wheel-carriages.”

In March, 1802, Messrs. Trevithick and Vivian took a long step forward in the direction of steam invention, by obtaining a patent for the application of the expansive force of steam to the propulsion of carriages upon railroads. In the specification of their patent they gave a drawing of their engine, applied to move a carriage upon the common roads. It resembles in form “the common stage-coaches used for conveyance of passengers; a square iron case, containing the boiler and cylinder, is placed behind the large or hinder wheels of the carriage, and is attached to a frame supported from the axles of those wheels. The cylinder was in a horizontal position, and the piston-rod was projected backwards and forwards, in the line of the road, towards the front of the carriage. Across the square frame, supported by the wheel of the carriage, an axle was extended, reaching a little beyond the frame on each side. This axle was cranked in the middle, in a line with the centre of the cylinder, and a connecting-rod, passing from the end of this piston, turned this axle round, and produced a continued rotary motion

* ‘*A Practical Treatise on Railroads*,’ etc., by Nicholas Wood, London, 1838, p. 275.

of it when the piston was moved backwards and forwards in the cylinder. Upon both ends of this axle cog-wheels were fixed, which moved into similar cog-wheels upon the axle of the wheels of the carriages, so that, when a rotary motion was produced in the cranked axle by the piston-rod, the rotary motion was communicated to the axle of the larger or hinder wheels of the carriage, and these wheels being fixed upon and turning round with the axle, gave a progressive motion to the carriage. Upon one end of this axle was fixed a fly-wheel, to secure a rotary motion in the axle at the termination of each stroke. The fore-wheels were of the usual form, which, turning to different angles with the body of the carriage, directed its motion upon the road, and, in cases where abrupt turns of the road required sudden changes in the direction of the carriage, the toothed or cog-wheels on either side could be thrown out of gear, and the opposite wheel made to drive the carriage into the proper obliquity of the road. Upon the periphery of the fly-wheel a brake was attached, to regulate the descent of the carriage down steep hills. The contrivances to effect the requisite motions of the various parts of this machine are extremely ingenious; and, considered as the first attempt of the application of steam to carriages upon common roads, it is entitled to great commendation."

Finding little encouragement for the construction of road engines, the inventors set themselves to work upon those for the coal railways already in

existence; and it was two years only after the date of their patent (1804) that Trevithick had his famous little machine at work in South Wales. It had an eight-inch cylinder, with a four feet six inches stroke, and "drew, after it, upon the railroad, as many carriages as carried ten tons of bar-iron from a distance of nine miles; which it performed without any supply of water to that contained in the boiler at the time of setting out, traveling at the rate of five miles an hour." The objection already referred to—soon proved an imaginary one—that the wheels of the engine would have no adhesion upon the rail to move the engine forward, prevented an early adoption. It was proposed by Trevithick and Vivian that the external periphery of the wheels should be made rough or uneven, by using projecting heads of nails, bolts, or cross-grooves; or, "in case of a hard pull, to cause a lever, bolt or claw to project through the rim of one or both of the wheels driven by the engine, to take hold of the ground." "But it will appear obvious to anyone," remarks Wood, in commenting upon the above, "that this mode of remedying one defect would be the means of producing another; for any projections would not only cause considerable resistance to the progressive motion of the engine, but would also tend to injure the rails of the road."

It was this objection that led Mr. Blenkinsop of Middleton colliery, near Leeds, England, to construct an engine, and obtain a patent upon it, in 1811, for the application of a rack, or toothed

rail, stretched along the whole distance to be traveled, "into which cog-wheels, turned by the engine, worked, and thus produced a progressive motion in the carriages." The teeth projected from the side of the rail two or three inches, thus forming a longitudinal toothed rack. The boiler of this engine was cylindrical, and, heated by a circular tube passing through it, terminated at one end by the chimney. The toothed rail was laid only on one side of the road, a common rail being placed upon the other. The cog-wheels were varied in size, according to the velocity with which it was desired to travel. By the use of this contrivance, the engine was enabled to ascend acclivities which Trevithick's was unable to mount. Its usefulness was tried and proved upon the Middleton colliery road, but it went suddenly out of fashion as soon as the adhesion of the plain wheel upon the common road was understood.

Another idea upon which an English patent was obtained in December, 1812, was that of William and Edward Chapman, who proposed to effect the locomotion of an engine by means of a chain stretched along the middle of the railroad, over its entire length, secured properly at each end, and over the whole course at needed intervals. "This chain was made to wind partly round, or to pass over a ground wheel, turned by the engine, of such a form that the wheel could not turn round without causing the chain to pass along with it. When this wheel was turned round by the engine, as the chain was fastened firmly at the end and could not be

drawn forward by the wheel, the carriage was, therefore, moved forward in the line of the chain and road. The carriages containing the goods were attached to the engine carriage, and thus conveyed along the railway. At intervals of every eight or ten yards, the chain was secured by means of upright forks, into which it fell, when left at liberty; this was for the purpose of taking off the strain from the chain, when more than one engine was traveling by it. The chain was prevented slipping, when the grooved wheel was turned round, by friction rollers pressing it into the groove."

This idea was put into use upon the Heaton railroad, but was soon abandoned, the liability of the arrangement to get out of order, added to the great friction of the chain, rendering it of little practical benefit. In 1813 another ingenious idea was worked out by Mr. Brunton, who supplied an engine with two prongs, or legs, that were made to strike upon the ground in the rear of the locomotive and propel it along, after the manner of pushing a boat forward in shallow waters with a pole. These prongs were worked by steam-power, and one would be lifted and set forward in place while the other was firmly set in the ground and moving the engine forward. The inventor has furnished us with an account* of his experiment with this singular vehicle. His boiler was of wrought iron, five feet six inches long and three feet in diameter. Said he: "The machine being placed on a railway,

* 'Repertory of Arts,' Vol. XXIV.

I first ascertained the power necessary to move it at the rate of two miles and a half in an hour, which I found to be eighty-four pounds. I then applied a chain to the hinder part of the machine, by which, as the machine moved forward, a weight was raised at the same time and rate, and found that, with steam equal to forty or forty-five pounds pressure on the square inch, the machine was propelled at the rate of two miles and a half per hour, and raised perpendicularly eight hundred and twelve pounds at the same speed, thus making the whole power equal to eight hundred and ninety-six pounds at two miles and a half per hour, equal to six horses, nearly."

An engine of the Trevithick description was sent to one Mr. Blackett of Wylam, but instead of being used upon his railroad, was set to blowing a cupola at an iron foundry in Newcastle. In 1813, however, Mr. Blackett built an engine of the same kind, which was set upon his railroad, where it worked by the adhesion of its wheels upon the rails. "His railroad was a plate-rail," says Mr. Wood, "and would consequently present more friction or resistance to the wheels than an edge-rail, and, on that account, the amount of adhesion would be greater than upon the latter rail. Still, the credit is due to Mr. Blackett for proving that the locomotion could be applied by that means alone. . . . It was, however, a question of the utmost importance to ascertain if the adhesion of the wheels of the engine upon the rails were sufficient to produce a progressive

motion in the engine, when loaded with a train of carriages, without the aid of any other contrivance; and it was by the introduction and continued use of them upon the Wylam railroad that this question was decided, and it was proved that upon railroads nearly level, or with very moderate inclination, the adhesion of the wheels alone was sufficient in all the different kinds of weather when the surface of the rails was not covered with snow. Mr. Hedley informs us that they first tried, by manual labor, how much weight the wheels of a common carriage would overcome without slipping round upon the rail, and having found the proportion it bore to the weight, they thence ascertained that the weight of the engine would produce sufficient adhesion to drag after it, upon their railroad, a requisite number of wagons."

The first engine run upon the Wylam road had only one cylinder, with a fly-wheel to regulate the action of the crank, which was soon proved to be a troublesome and uncertain arrangement. When the engine was stopped, "and the crank and connecting-rod in the same line, the power of the cylinder had then no effect in turning the crank round; and the engine had to be moved by levers applied to the spokes of the fly-wheel until the crank formed such an angle with the connecting-rod that the engine got sufficient power to produce a rotary motion and propel itself forward."

George Stephenson constructed his first engine in the early part of 1814, and on July 25 of that year it had its

first trial upon the Killingworth colliery railroad. It had two cylinders, each eight inches in diameter and two feet stroke ; the boiler was cylindrical, eight feet long and thirty-four inches in diameter ; the tube, twenty inches in diameter, passing through the boiler. The piece of road upon which the first test was made was laid with edge-rail, ascending about one yard in four hundred and fifty. It was found that the engine could draw, exclusive of its own weight, eight loaded carriages, weighing altogether about thirty tons, at the rate of four miles an hour. From thence onward it was kept at regular work. When it had been employed a short time, it was found that "sufficient adhesion existed upon the edge-rail to perform the requisite traction to the load. At first grooved sheaves were fixed upon the hinder traveling wheels of the engine, and similar grooved sheaves upon the fore-wheels of the

convoy carriage, containing the coals and water, with an endless chain working over each to procure the adhesion of the wheels of the convoy carriage, in addition to the adhesion of the engine wheels ; but on trial it was not found necessary to resort to the aid of this contrivance, as the adhesion of the engine wheels alone was found sufficient to produce the desired effect." Various important improvements upon this engine were made and patented from time to time.

This rapid review brings us to the period of the great experiments, already fully given, upon the Liverpool & Manchester in 1829, when the value of the locomotive, as a means of railroad power, was fully demonstrated. It will be in order, next, to return to the evolution of mechanism upon the American lines.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[*To be continued.*]

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

ERASTUS CORNING.

THE name of Erastus Corning is so closely linked with the material development of New York that no history of the inception and growth of her railroads—saying nothing of other important measures—could be written without touching upon his life and labors ; and it is certain that had his genius and industry been lacking at certain important points of

progress, much that was successfully done would have been left undone. He came originally of a stock, the Puritan, which endowed him with many of those natural gifts which are sure to command success ; as he was a direct descendant of Samuel Corning, sometimes known as "Ensign Corning," who was among the very first settlers of Massachusetts and whose name

appears on the records of the town of Beverly, in that state, as early as the year 1641. That this ancestor was a person of ability, means and good repute, is evident from the frequent mention of his name in the same records at subsequent periods during the century in connection with the government of the town and church affairs.

Erastus Corning was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on December 14, 1794. His father was Bliss Corning, a native of Preston, Connecticut, who was born in 1763, and while yet a boy served in the Continental army during the closing period of the Revolutionary war. His services were acknowledged by a pension, which he received up to the time of his death. He was united in marriage to Lucinda Smith, whose father and brother had also seen gallant service in the patriot cause; and after marriage settled in Norwich, where Erastus, the fourth of a family of eleven children, first saw the light of day.

When the son was thirteen years of age the family removed to Chatham, Columbia county, New York, where life was commenced anew upon a farm. The education of the son Erastus had been obtained in the common schools of the neighborhood, his last teacher in the district school of Norwich being none other than Pelatiah Perit, subsequently a member of the firm of Goodhue & Company of New York city, and at the time of his death, which occurred a few years since, president of the chamber of commerce.

The inclinations of the boy turned towards mercantile pursuits, and shortly after the removal to Chatham he secured a clerkship in the hardware and iron store of Hart & Smith, in Troy, his uncle, Ben-

jamin Smith, being a member of the firm. Mr. Smith was a strong Jefferson Democrat and held some important local offices in Troy. Under his influence and guidance the young lad passed the next five years of his life and acquired many of those sterling business qualities, as well as the strong political bias, for which he was afterwards distinguished. Upon the breaking out of the War of 1812 the firm of Hart & Smith was dissolved and young Corning entered the employment of Mr. Hart, with whom he remained till 1814, when, seeking a larger field of operations and greater scope for his abilities, he removed to Albany and entered the iron and hardware store of John Spencer & Company. After serving two years as clerk he was admitted to the firm, and in 1824, upon the death of Mr. Spencer, conducted the business for some time upon his own responsibility. He followed the hardware and iron business for nearly half a century, and had during that period several partners. With his first associate, Mr. John S. Norton, he purchased the rolling mill at Troy, known as the Albany Iron works. At the expiration of four years Mr. Norton retired from the firm. The succeeding partners of Mr. Corning were James Horner, Gilbert C. Davidson, John F. Winslow, and his son, Erastus Corning, jr., who, on the death of his father, succeeded to the business, which he still continues. The transactions of the house of Corning & Company were then more extensive than that of any other iron house in the country, and were under the supervision of Mr. Corning, although the details were largely left to the direction of his partners and clerks.

The energetic nature and keen commercial knowledge of Mr. Corning soon led him into other and wider fields of usefulness, and made his genius and capital felt in all quarters of his neighborhood and state. He early discerned the great advantages to be derived from the newly projected railroad, that, from 1825 to 1840, filled the land with excitement and opened innumerable avenues to public and private enterprise. He embarked fearlessly in the aid of those of his own section, and was among the most ardent and courageous among those who risked their money and gave their influence to the new method of travel—a connection which he held all through life, as he was yet a director in many of the leading lines at the time of his death. He was one of the projectors of the Mohawk & Hudson road, which has been already described; was one of the commissioners for organizing the Utica & Schenectady line that was finished three years later, and was president of the company from the outset until the consolidation in 1854. This consolidation of the roads between Albany and Buffalo, which was the subject of so much adverse criticism at the time, was an absolute business necessity. When the Erie railroad was completed to Lake Erie and the Pennsylvania Central had finished its track, it was apparent that the several companies which now compose the New York Central, and which at that time were running under distinct organizations, could not successfully compete with these great lines unless they were consolidated and operated by one controlling mind. This was accordingly effected and Mr. Corning remained president of the consolidation,

which took the name of New York Central, until 1865, when he resigned the office. As a railroad manager he conspicuously exhibited the possession of those great business qualities shown in other departments of labor, and successfully fulfilled all the trusts entrusted to his hands.

Mr. Corning also had a part in other important measures, and his name will forever be associated with one of the great improvements of the northwest. He was president of the company to which he was awarded the contract for the construction of the Ste. Marie ship canal, to connect the waters of Lake Superior with the great chain of lakes terminating with Ontario. Associated with him in the enterprise was Mr. J. W. Brooks, then superintendent of the Michigan Central railroad and one of the ablest railroad men in the country. The work, which involved the construction of a canal around the Falls of the River St. Mary, was pushed to a rapid and successful completion and proved an important auxiliary to the commerce of the lakes, aiding largely in the development of the Lake Superior region. It was also to the ample resources and penetrating mind of Mr. Corning that the early completion of the Michigan Central railroad was principally due. This road, one of the most important links in the great line of railways that connects the Atlantic with the Pacific, was undertaken by the state of Michigan, but when completed as far as Kalamazoo was brought to a stand still through lack of means. At this juncture Mr. Corning, in connection with Mr. D. D. Williamson of the Farmer's Trust and Loan company, and his former associate,

Mr. J. W. Brooks, took a transfer of the road and completed it through to Lake Michigan without any unnecessary delay.

Mr. Corning became a large stockholder in this road, and also one of the directors of the company. He was also a director of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad, of which he was one of the originators. His work in connection with railroads, although largely incidental, was such as to show that had he devoted all his time, energies and capital to that species of labor, he surely would have become one of the great railway kings of America.

Mr. Corning also made his mark in the world of American politics, his advent therein being made in the year 1828, when his fellow-citizens, appreciating his integrity and ability, elected him a member of the board of aldermen, and continued him in this office four consecutive terms. He was then chosen to the mayoralty by the common council, and for four subsequent terms filled this important and responsible office, resigning when his party went out of power in local politics. In 1833 he was elected one of the regents of the university and was subsequently vice-chancellor of the board of regents. He was a delegate to the Democratic National conventions held at Baltimore in 1848 and 1852, at the latter being president of the New York delegation. In 1841 he was elected a member of the state senate, and in 1857 was sent to represent his district in the Thirty-fifth congress of the United States. During this term he rendered important service as a member of the committee on naval

affairs. In 1861 he was again returned to congress, and was reëlected the following term, thus serving in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth or War congresses; and although a lifelong Democrat, he patriotically and earnestly gave his support to the war measures of the Republican administration. The intelligent zeal displayed by him in the Union cause during this eventful period was eminently serviceable, and was frequently acknowledged in the warmest and most grateful manner by President Lincoln. Mr. Corning was a delegate from the state of New York to the Peace convention held in Washington, February, 1861, and acted with Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Guthrie and other gentlemen in favor of making honorable concessions to the south. Other counsels prevailing, Mr. Corning gave the whole weight of his influence to the task of preserving his imperiled country. During the progress of the war, he served upon the important congressional committee of ways and means. The great problem before the country at this period, the solution of which devolved upon this committee, was to provide a circulating medium equal to the financial necessities of the country. Mr. Corning's experience in monetary affairs had not only been extensive but intimate. In 1833 he was elected vice-president of the New York State bank, but retired from this position the following year to accept the presidency of the Albany City bank, which he retained through life. He was, therefore, well acquainted with finance, and brought to the deliberations of the committee of ways and means a mature judgment

and a soundness of views which largely aided in the solution of the difficulties presented.

Mr. Corning resigned his seat in the house at the opening of the second session of the Thirty-eighth congress, determined to withdraw from public life. He was induced, however, to serve the people in the Constitutional convention called for the purpose of framing a new constitution for the state, his legislative experience and tried wisdom rendering him one of the most valuable members of that body. Mr. Corning was a man of vigorous constitution, indomitable will and untiring energy, and whatever he undertook he accomplished, not so much by reason of the power conferred by his great wealth, as by his inherent manliness and natural

force of character, his patient industry and undeviating honesty. His influence was widespread, and to his own state and the great northwest, he may be said to have been a benefactor in the truest and broadest sense of the word. He began life without unusual advantages, and his prosperous career and vast wealth were achieved by his own unaided exertions. He was as noted for his philanthropy and benevolence as for his success in business, and when the end of his life came at Albany, on April 9, 1872, the verdict of all was that the world had been made better by his presence, and that a good and great man had been lost to a community in which he had borne so prominent a part.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF A GREAT TRADE CENTER—DULUTH.

THE growth of great trade centers must follow, but cannot precede, the development of the tributary country from which they derive their support. Thus, the New York and Chicago, the Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia of to-day, would not have been possible fifty years ago. They have been made what they are through the natural advantages of their geographical position, supplemented by the support given them through the progress of the great agricultural and mineral regions penetrated by the railway lines, whose traffic comes to them to be exchanged for

the tonnage received from the commercial pathways of the high seas.

Indeed, the conjunction of these land and water lines, stretching over vast spaces, reaching for the varied products of different and distant lands, and people of diverse wants and pursuits, seems to be essential to the development of commercial cities of the first class. Geographical positions affording commanding natural advantages must be joined to equally important artificial conditions, created and fostered through the intelligence and enterprise of man, in order to secure those

elements of permanent growth which have created the imperial cities that have wielded the scepter of commercial supremacy over large areas and through long periods of time.

This seems to be the law of the development of great trade centers. A careful examination of the location and history of existing centers, with the causes that have built them up, will verify this proposition. It is manifest, therefore, that no mere inland points, depending mainly upon railway transportation, can, in any proper sense, become permanent trade centers. They may be prosperous for a time, through proximity to rich agricultural, lumbering and mining regions joined to the favoritism of discriminating railway rates, but the laws of nature and of trade will, sooner or later, assert their sway, and the true centers will be found at the points where the long lines of land and water traffic converge, and the reciprocal exchanges of products and commodities between distant regions are finally effected.

In the light of these simple yet comprehensive truths, it is not difficult to discern the causes of the rise and progress of the great cities of the world where the exchanges of the world are carried on. New York could by no possibility have been what she is in any spot less favored by nature. The same may be said of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo and Chicago. They are the outgrowths of the advantages of their fortunate geographical positions at points where vast systems of exchanges between distant and highly productive communities must necessarily occur, involving a great concentration of population, wealth, enter-

prise and the innumerable activities of civilized life. The westward tide of immigration first flowed along the line south of the great lakes to the rich plains of the central states—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas and adjacent regions. In its onward sweep, involving the development of the magnificent resources of these regions, the prosperous cities of Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, Omaha and Kansas City arose like magic out of the trackless forest and the virgin prairie. Of this chain of cities Chicago is the miracle of modern trade centers, due to its more commanding geographical position.

A clear understanding of the strategic importance of Duluth and Chicago as commercial centers demands that the geographical relations of the great lakes, near whose headwaters they respectively stand, should be brought into view.

A glance at any correct map of the United States will show that Lake Superior lies along the parallels, and Michigan on the meridians. The two are, therefore, at right angles to each other. Superior, however, extends three hundred miles farther west than Michigan, giving to the tributary territory of the former the resulting advantages of three hundred miles more of deep water navigation westward than the latter possesses. The opposite shores of Lake Superior, for more than half its length bearing to the west by south, converge at Duluth in such a manner as to point like the "finger of destiny" to the southwest, vastly increasing the area of its tributary territory in that direction. If a straight line be drawn uniting the two cities, and this line be

bisected by another, commencing near the eastern end of Lake Superior and extending southwestwardly to the Gulf of California, near the twenty-seventh parallel, this latter line will represent, with geometrical exactness, all points equidistant from Duluth and Chicago respectively. Hence all places north of this line will belong, legitimately, to Duluth's tributary belt. This fact is to-day shaping and controlling the railway development of the country northwest of the line described. All roads in this vast region are now pointing toward Duluth as their ultimate objective, because they thus secure the shortest, and therefore the cheapest, line to deep water navigation.

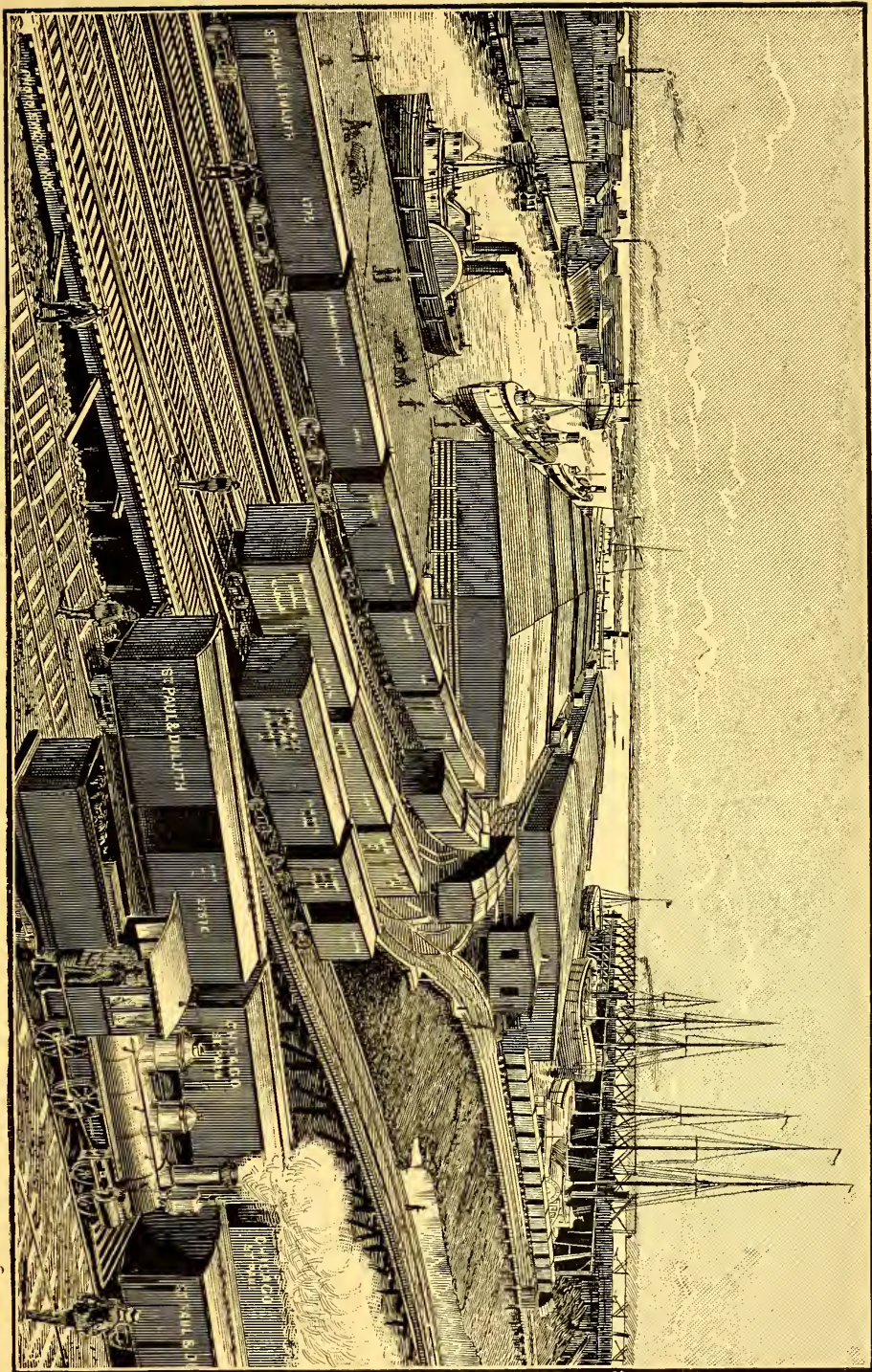
By virtue of the relative positions of the two lakes, moreover, the distance of these two cities from the eastern sea-board by water is practically the same. While a vessel from Chicago is traversing the length of Lake Michigan to the north, the Duluth ship is moving directly on its eastward course, and the two will be substantially together somewhere near the head of Lake Huron, and will thus have the chance of an equal race to Buffalo.

The development of the country between Lake Superior and the Pacific ocean is a comparatively recent movement. It did not fairly commence until after the construction of the Northern Pacific railway was inaugurated. With the progress of that great enterprise and others of a similar character, notably the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba and the Canadian Pacific systems, the influx of immigration has been immense, and the settlement of the extended area of agricultural and mineral territory, comprising the states of

Minnesota and Oregon, the territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington and the provinces of Manitoba and the Canadian northwest, has advanced with a rapidity quite unprecedented; and the commerce of these regions in its eastward flow has sought deep water navigation at Lake Superior on the shortest and most direct line. The development of a new and commanding trade center at Duluth, on the extreme western limit of the chain of lakes, has been and is thus compelled by force of its splendid geographical position, the movement of population along its contiguous parallels, and the opening up of the magnificent grain fields, rich mineral regions and extensive forest areas stretching along the grand portage between the great lake and the Pacific ocean at Puget sound. This wonderful movement has been powerfully promoted by the government improvement of the waterway connecting Lake Superior with the lower lakes along St. Mary's river. It will be still further reinforced by the construction of the new railway lines south of Lake Superior, giving a new and shorter route to the eastern sea-board, and by roads from Manitoba, now projected and being built to the city of Duluth.

The difference in elevation between Lakes Superior and Huron is nearly twenty feet, eighteen and five-tenths feet of which is at St. Mary's falls, where a canal five thousand four hundred feet long has been constructed, with an immense lock, having a lift of eighteen feet, a length of five hundred and fifteen feet, and a depth of sixteen feet, allowing vessels of more than two thousand tons' register to

"WHERE THE GREAT WATERWAY OF THE EAST MEETS THE RAILWAY SYSTEMS OF THE NORTHWEST."



pass freely between the upper and lower levels of the chain of lakes.

Further improvements, on a gigantic scale, have been projected and are now in progress under the authority of the United States government, by which the capacity of the canal and its approaches will be increased to correspond with the rapid growth of the already vast commerce of Lake Superior.

The canal is to be deepened and otherwise perfected; another lock, eight hundred feet long, one hundred feet wide, with twenty-one feet depth of water on the miter sills, is being constructed, and the approach from below is to be shortened by improving Hay Lake channel, thus effecting a saving of eleven miles in distance over the present *detour* through Lake George, in British territory, the navigation of which is impracticable at night. With the completion of these works, which will cost the government about seven million dollars, the capacity of the vessels navigating Lake Superior will be greatly increased, and its commerce will be augmented with the development of the country, beyond all present power of computation.

According to official government statistics, thirty-three per cent. of the vessels and forty per cent. of the tonnage passing through St. Mary's canal into Lake Superior are engaged in the Duluth trade. It is therefore clear that the improvement of the great waterway must exert a powerful influence upon the growth of this new commercial center so rapidly advancing to the front rank of great western cities.

Another factor of prime importance in the future growth of Duluth is the gradual

yet comprehensive improvement of the canals connecting the lower lakes and the river systems leading to the eastern seaboard. These canals are being constantly widened and deepened, to admit of the passage of vessels of greatly increased tonnage, and there is no reasonable doubt that this work of enlargement will go on, until ships drawing twenty feet of water and carrying three to four thousand tons' burden will, within a comparatively few years, be able to float with their immense cargoes from Duluth "unvexed to the sea," and thence to the commercial marts of the old world.

In this work it must be confessed that our Canadian neighbors, with no more than a tithe of our population and resources, are at present in the lead. They have a well-defined system of these waterways, including the Welland canal connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario and others, overcoming the obstructions in the St. Lawrence river. With them it is only a question of further enlargement and increase of capacity when their vessels of the first class will be able to reach the open sea. In our own case we can boast only of the St. Mary's Falls canal, now undergoing enlargement, admitting ships drawing twenty feet of water, and the improvement by dredging to the requisite depth of Hay Lake channel and the St. Clair flats.

There are thus likely to be two rival systems, the Canadian and our own. Our next step will be the construction of a canal around the Falls of Niagara. A project looking to the inauguration of this colossal undertaking has been outlined by a provision in the River and Harbor bill of the

present session, for the survey and estimate of the cost of a "waterway around Niagara falls, of capacity and facilities sufficient to float merchant ships, and ships of war of modern build, drawing twenty feet of water, said waterway to commence in a navigable part of Niagara river, in Niagara county, at or near Tonawanda, New York, and to end in the navigable waters of said river, below said falls, or in navigable waters connected therewith."

The completion of a distinctively American system of communication would further necessitate the enlargement of the canals from Oswego to Syracuse, and thence to the Hudson river, to a capacity sufficient for ships of twenty feet draught. In the absence of this achievement, so important to the continued commercial supremacy of the city of New York, vessels would find their direct pathway from the head of Lake Superior to the ocean *via* the St. Lawrence river, and thence to the leading ports on both sides of the Atlantic, without breaking bulk. This would be virtually equivalent to an extension of an arm of the sea to the heart of the North American continent. With the enormous growth in population and wealth sure to be realized in the future of this great northwest, the opening of this system of waterways is no idle dream of the imagination, but, on the contrary, will surely become an imperative necessity and an accomplished fact.

The natural resources of this region, almost continental in extent, including every variety of agricultural, mineral and other products, have as yet been no more than touched by the magic wand of industrial enterprise. Not five per cent. of

the arable land, including the most wonderful grain belt in the world, and extending far into the Valley of the Saskatchewan and the Canadian northwest for more than a thousand miles, is yet under cultivation, although already being penetrated by railways aiming at the head of Lake Superior as the nearest and most accessible point for reaching deep water navigation. Not one per cent. of our varied and inexhaustible mineral deposits has yet been uncovered. Sandstone, slate, granite, iron, copper, lead, silver and gold, in quantities beyond the power of estimate, exist in the regions bordering upon this great inland sea. Billions of feet of valuable timber still remain standing in the forests that skirt its silent shores.

Nor should the recognition of another fact of great importance in its bearing upon the future of this city be omitted here. As has been aptly expressed, "Duluth is in the pathway of empire." It is on the transcontinental line that connects, by the shortest route, the navigable waters of the great lakes with those of the Pacific ocean. This results not only from the peculiar conformation and indentation of the "arms of the sea" at each extremity, but from the diminution in the length of the degrees of latitude.

In the able report of Edwin F. Johnston, esq., the first engineer-in-chief of the Northern Pacific railway, it was shown that the distance from Puget sound to the principal Atlantic sea-ports was six hundred miles less than from San Francisco to the same points. It was also shown that, owing to the direction of the marine currents between the coasts of eastern Asia and western North America, east-

ward bound vessels were borne in a northerly direction to the shores of Oregon and Washington, whence they were obliged to make their way southward to San Francisco, at a loss of several hundred miles in the voyage. It is thus made to appear that the pathway of commerce from China, Japan and the East Indies is determined by natural conditions, and that it lies along the parallels that embrace the belt traversed by this great railway system and its related transportation lines leading to the eastern seaboard. It is a law of commercial intercourse beyond dispute, that traffic will eventually seek the shortest route between the points of production and distribution. The saving of a few days of time, or even a moderate reduction in the rates of freight and insurance, has often destroyed old trade centers and created new ones. Now, it is clear that these facts bear a close relation to the question of the transportation of goods and merchandise from the East Indies to the commercial marts of both sides of the Atlantic. It is already a common event for cargoes of tea and other East India products, destined to New York, Boston and Philadelphia, to reach these cities by way of Puget sound, the Northern Pacific railway and its eastern connections. While this passage is being revised the following statement, clipped from a daily paper of October 9, furnishes a forcible illustration of the point under consideration: "The sailing vessel *George S. Homer* arrived at Tacoma on Saturday with a cargo of tea, having made the remarkably fast trip of thirty days from Yokohama. The mail which left Yokohama three days later by

steam-ship, with the papers relating to the cargo, arrived in St. Paul on Saturday, after the vessel arrived at Tacoma. The tea will be shipped east over the Northern Pacific."

It is also a fact of no little significance that for two years past the daily tonnage passing through the St. Mary's Falls canal has exceeded that of the Suez canal, from which it would appear that even the East India trade, that great prize for which the commercial nations have for centuries contended, has begun to move along the shortest line. As our facilities for transportation upon lake, land and sea are perfected along this "shortest route," it is not a violent presumption that Duluth will feel the influence of this powerful movement and be carried forward to a corresponding degree of growth and prosperity.

With such possibilities of geographical position, agricultural, timber and mineral products, and with a steadily rising wave of population, composed of hardy, resolute and enterprising men, sweeping over the hills and plains of the northwest, delving in its mines, leveling its forests, cultivating its now waste places and opening a track for the iron horse across the vast areas, what mind can conceive or who can estimate the prodigies of growth that must come to the cities along this wonderful "pathway of empire," and especially to that one which holds the key to the entire situation at the head of the great lake?

Another prominent factor in the problem under discussion is the railway situation. Where deep water navigation ends, there adequate land transportation must

begin. Where the immense tonnage of the lakes seeks the best available point for distribution, there the railway system *must* converge and *will* converge, because railways, as well as steam-ships, are built for the business of transportation, each in their respective spheres. It is primarily the lake trade that has built up Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. It is the lake business that has drawn the railway systems to these prosperous cities. It is the reciprocal influence of both that has given to these commercial centres their manufacturing plants, their jobbing-houses, their strong financial institutions, their schools, churches, libraries, homes and, indeed, all the adjuncts of their advanced civilization. What, therefore, the steam-ships and the railways have done for the cities named, they will do for Duluth in as much greater measure as her natural advantages and resources exceed theirs. Since, as has been shown, Duluth and Chicago have each its tributary belt by virtue of its closer proximity, so each must have its railway system reaching out into that territory. The Chicago system is already developed in its salient features and is far advanced toward completion. But a few years since it was the ambition of all the railroads in the north-west to reach Chicago. The consequence is that that city is to-day the centre of the most extensive net-work of railways in the United States. This is simply the result of her commanding position near the head of Lake Michigan, making her the receiving and distributing point of a great extent of agricultural, mining and lumbering territory, lying along and between

Lake Michigan, the Ohio river and the Rocky mountains.

Through the stimulus of its lake and rail transportation Chicago has built up immense manufacturing and jobbing industries, and accumulated a population approximating eight hundred thousand souls. What the joint action of these causes has done for Chicago it will do for Duluth, whose situation and natural advantages are even more commanding than those of the Lake Michigan metropolis. In the wheat trade Duluth now leads Chicago, while for its raw materials, particularly its iron ore and lumber, the latter is receiving its supplies largely from the mines and mills of the Lake Superior region.

The Duluth railway system is as yet but roughly outlined. It embraces three if not four Pacific trunk lines, one of which, the Northern Pacific, with numerous lateral feeders, is completed to Puget sound and Portland, Oregon, and embraces 3,182 miles of completed track. The St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba railway, with its many branches traversing the richest portions of Minnesota, Dakota and Montana, is completed from Duluth to Helena, and is pushing forward to the Pacific with Seattle as its probable objective point. It now operates nearly three thousand miles of road. The Canadian Pacific, in close alliance with the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic railway, four hundred and nine miles long, has already inaugurated traffic arrangements with Duluth, and within a few weeks will be running through passenger trains from the Zenith City to the eastern sea-board. It is well understood that this powerful corporation

will soon build to a connection with its main line at or near Winnipeg on the west. The indications point to an early connection between Duluth and the Union Pacific railway, at Denver, Colorado, which is nearer the head of Lake Superior than Chicago by at least one hundred and twenty-five miles.

Besides these Pacific lines, built and being built to a connection with Duluth, there are the St. Paul & Duluth railway and branches, 235 miles, connecting the Twin Cities with Duluth; the Duluth & Iron Range, 115 miles, running along the north shore of Lake Superior to Two Harbors, thence across the divide to Lake Vermillion and Ely, through the famous iron regions of Minnesota; the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha, and Chicago & Northwestern, allied lines, with 4,606 miles of trackage, connecting Duluth with the cities of Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha and intermediate points; the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic, from Duluth to Sault Ste. Marie, with a branch to St. Ignace on the Straits of Mackinaw, where it connects with the New York Central system through the Detroit & Mackinaw; the Wisconsin Central, 507 miles, and the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western, 470 miles, the two latter entering Duluth on the Northern Pacific tracks, making a total of nine railways, with an aggregate trackage of 12,514 miles of main line and branches. The new and important roads being built, and others projected and certain to be constructed, are perhaps more than double the number now in actual operation. Of the former, the Duluth, Red Wing & Southern, from the head of the lake to Sioux City, Iowa, and

thence to a connection with the Union Pacific, the Port Arthur, Duluth & Southwestern and the Duluth & Winnipeg are among the most important. The first will open the famous corn belt to the Duluth trade, the second will further develop the iron and silver regions of the north shore, while the latter will form a short line to the wheat fields of the great Valley of the Saskatchewan in the Canadian northwest, giving that country an outlet, by way of Duluth and its dual transportation system, to the markets of the world.

With the rapid growth of population and consequent development of the country embraced in the Lake Superior tributary belt, its railway system must necessarily be expanded until it shall become adequate to all the requirements of the situation. What these requirements are likely to be may best be determined by an estimate of the area, the resources and the wants of the country when it shall reach a density of population equal to some of the older states not equal to it in productive powers.

Massachusetts, for instance, has probably the best developed railway system of any state in the Union. She has a greater ratio of mileage to area than any other commonwealth. Her area is 7,890 miles, her railway mileage, at the close of 1887, was 2,531 miles, and her population, by the census of 1880, was 1,789,035. But Minnesota has more than ten times the area, productive power and natural resources of Massachusetts. Hence, when in the future she shall become as densely populated and as well served with the means of transportation as the latter state, she will have not less than 25,000 miles of railway and 17,000,000 inhabitants. And again,

Dakota has more than twenty times the area and productive capacity of Massachusetts. It may, therefore, be assumed that the future railway mileage and population of these two contiguous communities will surpass those of the Old Bay state to an extent equal at least to the preponderance of their size and resources, and their transportation system must ever continue to gravitate to and focus at the head of navigation on the greatest of the chain of lakes. Were Minnesota and Dakota to day in possession of the same relative population and railway mileage as Massachusetts, they would aggregate not less than 60,000,000 people and 70,000 miles of railway. What effect such a state of facts would have upon the destinies of the Zenith City may well be left for the arithmetical faculty of the reader to determine. If he has a disposition further to forestall the possible events of the coming years, let him carefully calculate the area of the remaining territory whose proximity to Duluth brings it clearly within its tributary domain, give it a density of population and railway mileage relatively equal to those of Massachusetts, and he can revel at will in the stern logic of figures more expressive than those of rhetoric, and of truths, the realization of which will be more strange than the revelations of the wildest dreams of romance.

As a necessary corollary of the comprehensive railway development in progress as outlined and foreshadowed herein, with Duluth for the objective point, it is pertinent to observe that a system of terminals has been laid out within and near the city for the accommodation of such roads as may hereafter seek an

entrance thereto. These terminals will give all the roads access, on cheap and equal terms, to the docks, warehouses, manufacturing establishments and jobbing-houses in the city, furnishing side tracks and free switching privileges to the latter in the mutual exchange of freights destined for shipment, either by rail or lake. Work on the terminal railway will be so far advanced as to make it quite generally available by the opening of the ensuing spring. It provides for elevated tracks from the point of entry into the city to the Union depot for the passenger traffic, and a surface system upon which to conduct the immense freight business between the numerous railways on the one hand, and the docks, manufactories and jobbing-houses on the other. This important enterprise was inaugurated by the public-spirited citizens of Duluth, with a supreme regard to the general welfare of the city as a whole. The franchises granted by the city council and by private citizens, free of cost, while quite liberal in scope, are yet such as carefully to guard the interests of the people against all encroachments of corporate selfishness and greed. This important enterprise is justly regarded as finally settling the question of the future of Duluth as a great railway centre, because it renders communication with the city and throughout its entire business portions both easy and inexpensive, in the face of what have, by many, heretofore been regarded as insurmountable natural obstacles. The superficial notion that because the point of a bold rocky ridge projects itself toward the front near the centre of the city site, there is room for

neither railways nor population, is too absurd to need refutation. The ridge will soon be surmounted by a system of rapid transit, which will cover the plateau with beautiful homes, attractive parks and boulevards, and that which has been regarded as an obstacle to the progress of the city will be universally looked upon as one of its most desirable and enchanting features.

The enumeration of the many and varied natural advantages of Duluth as a commercial metropolis would be radically incomplete without some reference to its capacious and wonderful harbor, for this is its crowning excellence. It embraces a series of bays and river reaches from Minnesota point, which shields it from the storms of the lake, nearly to the foot of the dalles of the St. Louis river, twelve miles distant. The lower bay comprises three square miles of waterway within the established dock lines between Rice's and Minnesota points, all available, when the improvements shall have been completed, for navigation and anchorage to vessels of the largest class. St. Louis bay, between Rice's and Grassy points, forms a secondary harbor for four miles. The whole harbor system affords a perfect refuge against storms, and abundant room for the mercantile marine of the entire chain of lakes. Duluth harbor proper is easily and safely entered from the lake through a ship canal nearly three hundred feet wide and fifteen hundred feet long, running nearly parallel with the north shore. The canal is perfectly straight, in line with the track of vessels coming up the lake, and has a depth of nearly twenty-five feet, which is steadily maintained by the ebb and flow

of the current between the lake and the harbor.

Some conception of the magnitude of the facilities afforded to vessels navigating these waters may be formed from a consideration of the following figures, showing the length of dock lines, kindly furnished by Major J. B. Quinn of the United States engineers, in charge of the harbor improvements :

From the canal to the termination of the legal dock line, near Grassy point, the distance is.....	10	miles.
Length of dock face.....	70.9	miles.
	80.9	miles.
Along Minnesota Point—		
Length of dock line.....	6.27	miles.
Length of dock face.....	35.21	miles.
Total length of dock line and face in Duluth harbor.....	122.38	miles.
Total length of dock line and face in Superior harbor.....	63.36	miles.
Total dock line and face between Minnesota and Grassy points, on both sides of the bay.....	186.24	miles.

One more fact relating to the superb advantages of the dual transportation system of Duluth yet remains to be pointed out, and that is the wonderful perfection of the appliances for the rapid handling of the millions of tons of heavy freight exchanged here. The elevators, coal docks and warehouses are all constructed on the most liberal and comprehensive scale. The machinery for moving freight of every description, and particularly coal and grain, is of the latest and most approved designs known to the carrying trade. The discharge and receipt of heavy cargoes is but the work of hours, and not infrequently of minutes, and the great ships are enabled without delay to unload, reload and depart on the

day of arrival. A few examples of this expeditious work will suffice to illustrate the point under consideration: The schooner *David Dows*, the largest of her kind on the lakes, arrived at Duluth on a certain Friday night. At 7 A. M. of the following day she held a cargo of 2,100 tons of coal at the Ohio Central coal docks. At 7 P. M. she had unloaded, cleaned her hold, taken on board 78,000 bushels of wheat, and was ready to sail. The *Iron Duke* arrived "light" one day at 3 P. M., and at 5 P. M. the vessel cleared with 50,000 bushels of wheat for Buffalo. The steamer *Australian* and consort, a sailing vessel, arrived in like manner at 3.30 P. M. and cleared at 6 P. M., the former with 75,000 bushels of wheat, and the latter with 52,000 bushels, or an aggregate of 127,000 bushels, all being the work of two and a half hours. Such results as these are believed to be without precedent anywhere. They are in keeping with the comprehensive and colossal scale upon which Nature has laid out her work in this wonderful region. In the presence of such facts, human enterprise is compelled, as it were, to devise and execute its plans in harmony with the great types that are ever before it.

It has been the aim in the preceding discussion to present in as concise yet comprehensive form as possible the natural advantages and conditions that justify the conviction entertained by thoughtful men that Duluth must, within a few years, become one of the great trade centers of the northwest and of the United States. The geographical position, the extent of tributary country, the variety and abundance of

natural resources, the dual transportation system by rail and lake, the capacious harbor, complete terminal facilities, and perfect appliances for the prompt transfer of the enormous tonnage received and distributed here, all combine to justify this conviction, and foreshadow a result that seems as inevitable as any future event can be. But it is neither irrelevant nor improper to reinforce this array of facts with the testimony of that which the past few years have brought to light as the result of the circumstances and conditions herein summarized.

The marvelous growth of Duluth within the last half of the present decade is not an accident. Its causes are as clear as the light of day. They are efficient and permanent, not for a day, but for all time. What they *have* done they will continue to do, with a steadily increasing momentum.

The census of 1880 gave the then village of Duluth a population of 3,470. The state census of 1885 gave it in round numbers 18,000 people. Estimates based upon carefully collected directory returns in 1886 indicated 22,000 inhabitants, in 1887, 30,000, and during the present year, 37,406, the multiple employed being less than three. Duluth became a city under a charter granted by the legislature in 1887. The next National census, to be taken in 1890, will doubtless substantially verify these estimates.

The growth of commerce and general business has kept even pace, if it has not exceeded, the increase in population. The aggregate receipts and shipments of wheat, combined for the sake of brevity, were as follows for the years indicated:



THE LAKE SUPERIOR ELEVATOR AND UNION IMPROVEMENT AND ELEVATOR COMPANIES' SYSTEMS.

	BUSHEL.
1880.....	3,021,287
1883.....	9,294,711
1884.....	25,274,512
1885.....	28,934,450
1886.....	40,307,663
1887.....	37,114,321

The wheat receipts of Duluth for the past two years have exceeded those of Chicago by from five to six million bushels. The first receipts here were in 1871, and amounted to only 556,783 bushels.

The flour shipments for the past five years show the following results :

	BARRELS.
1883.....	791,800
1884.....	814,300
1885.....	1,155,000
1886.....	1,357,000
1887.....	1,322,715

The increase in the elevator capacity for the same period is exhibited by the subjoined figures.

	BUSHEL.
1883.....	3,160,000
1884.....	9,410,000
1885.....	9,710,000
1886.....	11,150,000
1887.....	19,450,000

In 1885 two elevators, with a total capacity of 1,000,000 bushels, were burned, and 800,000 bushels of wheat were destroyed.

The growth of the coal trade is a significant indication of the increasing importance of Duluth. For the past five years the receipts at this port have been constantly augmenting, as shown below :

	TONS.
1883, the receipts were.....	420,000
1884, " " ".....	572,000
1885, " " ".....	695,000
1886, " " ".....	735,000
1887, " " ".....	1,041,000

For the current year to date the receipts have been greatly in excess of last year and are expected to aggregate not less than 1,250,000 tons.

The increase in the number of arrivals and clearances of vessels, and in the amount of tonnage received and shipped during the years named, presents a striking exhibit of the growth of the commerce of Duluth. Every indication points to the conclusion that the movement for the present year will greatly exceed that of all others.

	ARRIVALS AND CLEARANCES.	TONNAGE.
1885.....	1803.....	1,372,233
1886.....	2180.....	1,694,831
1887.....	2478.....	2,021,789
1888, (partially estimated) 2800.....		2,350,000

Statistics show that the number of vessels passing St. Mary's Falls canal, into and from Lake Superior, is diminishing, while their carrying capacity is increasing. This fact may vary somewhat the partial estimate of the number of arrivals and clearances for the present year. The amount of tonnage, however, is likely to be increased above the figures in the foregoing statement.

Perhaps the best index of the growth and progress of a city is the number of banking institutions and the volume of business transacted by them. Judged by this standard, the progress of Duluth has been phenomenal. According to the report of the secretary of the board of trade for the year 1885, there were but three banks in existence here, and their combined capital was but \$380,000.

During the years stated below the showing is as follows :

	Capital.	Surplus.	Deposits.	Loans.	Circulation.
1886.....	\$ 600,000	\$218,750	\$2,034,281	\$2,471,565	\$ 78,750
1887.....	1,447,937	361,147	3,448,352	3,941,272	127,790
Increase.....	\$ 847,937	\$142,417	\$1,414,071	\$1,469,707	\$ 49,040

The number of banks now in successful operation is ten, four of which are National, five are private and one is organized under the general State law. A fifth National bank will soon be organized with a capital of two hundred thousand or two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The capital of the State bank has recently been increased to one hundred thousand dollars. These additions will raise the aggregate banking capital of Duluth to nearly two million dollars. The total clearings for the fiscal year ending March 2, 1888, amounted to \$114,212,368.48. The average weekly clearances for the present season have been about two million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The clearings for the first week in October were over three million one hundred thousand dollars, Duluth ranking about the twentieth or twenty-first in the entire list of cities reporting their clearances. This amount is in excess of all other cities of equal population and is, indeed, greater than that of many others of much greater enumeration.

The expenditures for buildings, mercantile and manufacturing establishments and other improvements during the past two years afford additional proof of the permanence of that new career of progress upon which Duluth has entered. For the year 1886 the cost of these improvements was \$2,451,500, and for 1887 they were \$4,259,381. It is estimated that the expenditures for similar purposes during the current year will mount up to between five

million and six million dollars. The city improvements proper for 1887, on streets, embraced eight miles of grading, six miles of sewage and sidewalk contracts for twenty-three miles. There are now five miles of grading under way, and petitions are in for sixteen miles more, the greater portion of which has already been ordered by the board of public works. More than six miles of sewage have already been ordered for the present season. These improvements, when completed, will have cost nearly one million five hundred thousand dollars, and the expense is incurred only upon petition by the property-holders, and is not done by the city without their consent.

The assessable valuation of the city for the years 1886 and 1887 was as follows:

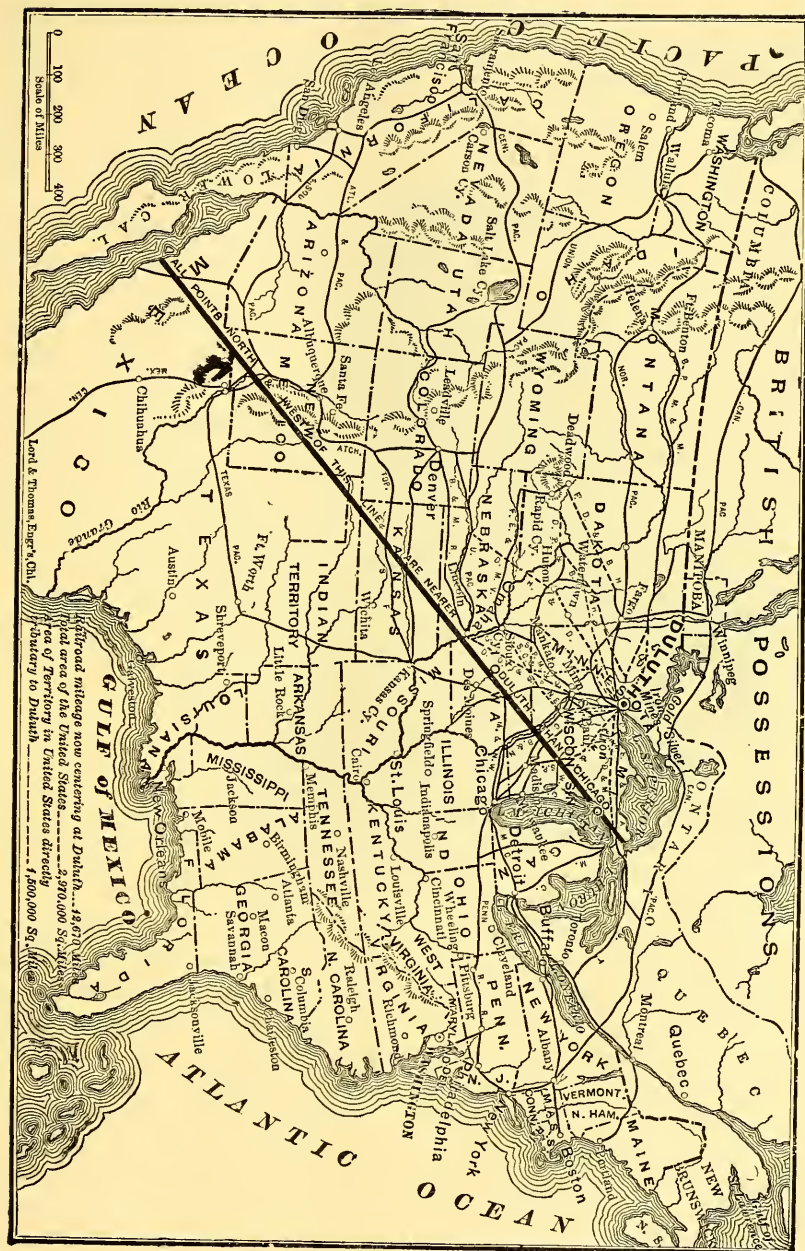
Real estate.....	\$10,978,377
Personal property.....	2,655,858
Total....	\$13,634,235

For the years 1888 and 1889:

Real estate.....	\$17,374,498
Personal property.....	3,270,378
Total....	\$20,644,876

Increase, \$7,010,641, or over 51 per cent.

One of the best indices of the growth and prosperity of a city will be found in the annual increase in the volume of its post-office business. The free delivery system was not established in Duluth until the latter part of the year 1885. The comparison can, therefore, be made only for the two preceding years, the figures for the current year not being yet available.



From the report of the postmaster to the department for the year 1887, the following general results are compiled :

	1886.	1887.
Postal receipts.....	\$ 46,887.30..	\$ 67,234.61
Money order business.....	\$186,249.64..	\$250,972.60
Pieces registered mail handled..	15,282.....	38,608
Pieces handled by carriers...	2,678,001....	6,160,275
Pieces mail handled.....	2,678,721....	5,036,600

Some indication of the volume of the railway traffic handled at Duluth is afforded by the subjoined statistics of the freight movement of 1887 over only three of the roads centering here. The aggregate amount of receipts and shipments both ways is given for the sake of brevity :

St. Paul & Duluth.....	903,392 tons.
Northern Pacific.....	522,777 tons.
Duluth & Iron Range.....	820,185 tons.

Total....2,246,354 tons.

But it is unnecessary to multiply statistics further. The foregoing have

been cited merely to verify and emphasize the conclusions enumerated in the preceding discussion. They represent only the modest beginnings of a social and commercial movement that is to pulsate to and fro like a mighty and irresistible wave across the continent and the encircling oceans, gathering added volume and strength with the lapse of years, peopling the plains, the forests and the mines with brave, hardy and resolute pioneers, who will develop the varied resources, build up happy homes, erect busy industrial establishments, construct lines of communication, organize schools and churches, and carry with them everywhere the benign blessings of a free and enlightened government and exemplify a civilization such as is enjoyed by no other nation on the earth.

WILLIAM F. PHELPS.

CHARLES HINMAN GRAVES.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on the fourteenth day of August, 1839. His father was the Rev. H. A. Graves, a Baptist clergyman and editor of the *Watchman and Reflector*, a Baptist weekly newspaper, published in Boston; he was a leading writer among the Abolitionists from 1845 to 1855. His wife, Mary Hinman Graves, was the daughter of Scoville Hinman of New Haven, Connecticut, once sheriff of that city, and was of the noted Hinman family of that state, among whom was Governor-Royal Hinman. The grandfather of Charles, the Rev. Joseph M.

Graves, was also a Baptist clergyman, who was known for many years all over New England by his snow-white hair and as "Father Graves." This worthy man was a leader in the temperance reformation of New England clergymen. He was born in Worcester county, Massachusetts, and was descended from an early settler at the mouth of the Connecticut river.

Charles (of whom we write) received first a common school education, which was supplemented by classical instruction given him by his father when in Island of Jamaica, West Indies, where the family resided four years. His



W. H. H. 74

W. H. H. 74

father died in 1855 ; this was the cause of his leaving the Litchfield academy (Connecticut), which, at that date, he was attending, and necessitated his earning his living clerking in stores, principally at West Cambridge, now Arlington, Massachusetts, where in May, 1861, then twenty-one years of age, he enlisted as a private in a company of volunteers raised by Captain Ingalls.

The company which the young man joined was organized a little too late to be included in the quota of the state of Massachusetts, under President Lincoln's first call for three months' men ; as a consequence, the men concluded to go, along with three other companies, to New York city, and attach themselves to, and become a part of, the Fortieth New York regiment of volunteer infantry.

Young Graves was appointed corporal, then sergeant, of his company. He carried a musket through the first battle of Bull Run and during the arduous drilling, under McClellan, of the Army of the Potomac. In November, 1861, two vacancies in office of second lieutenant of his regiment occurring, the colonel, to stimulate the interest of his men in the service, appointed a competitive examination of enlisted men for promotion to those positions. Among about forty competitors Sergeant Graves ranked second, and was rewarded with a commission, on the nineteenth of December, 1861, as second lieutenant, by Horatio Seymour, governor of New York. It was, to use his own words, "the proudest day of his life." The

whole regiment knew the way the commission had been obtained, and were enthusiastic over it. This was the starting-point of the young lieutenant's career on a broader scale than fate had before seemed to promise.

And here we take pleasure in giving the army record of the young man, which, surely, anyone might be proud of. Briefly, it is this : Private Fortieth New York volunteers, June, 1861 ; sergeant, August 14, 1861 ; second lieutenant, December 19, 1861 ; first lieutenant, July 7, 1862 ; captain, December 16, 1862 ; captain and assistant adjutant-general U. S. volunteers, March 3, 1864 ; major and assistant adjutant-general U. S. volunteers, January 15, 1865 (for gallant services in attack on Fort Fisher) ; breveted lieutenant-colonel and colonel volunteers, March 13, 1865, for faithful and efficient services during the war and gallant conduct in the field ; appointed first lieutenant Fourteenth U. S. infantry, November 29, 1865 ; captain Thirty-eighth U. S. infantry, July 28, 1866 ; breveted major U. S. army, March 2, 1867, for gallant and meritorious services in battle of Gettysburg, and lieutenant-colonel U. S. army, for gallant and meritorious service in the assault on Fort Fisher. Resigned December, 1870.

The services of this brave officer were given to his country in the Army of the Potomac, in the Army of the James and in the Fort Fisher expedition. He was in all the battles of those commands ; was severely wounded at Gettysburg, and was three months in a hospital. He served on the staffs of

Generals Philip Kearney, George Stoneman, D. B. Birney and A. H. Terry in various positions; very largely as judge-advocate and inspector, or adjutant-general. He continued in the army after the close of the war, serving mostly as aid and staff officer to General Terry, with considerable experience on the plains of Dakota, Wyoming and Montana until 1870, when, as already noted, he resigned from the service.

After leaving the army, Colonel Graves took up his residence in Duluth. Being of a restless disposition, he was induced to take hold of various kinds of business and projects, all of which have been attended with more or less success—some with decided success. His friends and neighbors recognizing his adaptability for public work, sent him, in 1871, to Washington to help secure the first appropriation for improving the harbor of Duluth; and he has been called on nearly continuously in behalf of his adopted city for public service ever since.

Colonel Graves was senator in the state legislature for the years 1873-4-5-6, where he took a leading position. His principal work was reforming the conduct of the state treasury, and author of the present system and laws governing that department, resulting from the work of an investigating committee composed of Governor Hubbard, Congressman McDonald, R. B. Leangdon and Colonel Graves. These ser-

vices, together with those at many conventions, political and of a business character, have made him well known to the people of Minnesota and the northwest. He is probably the best known of any of the prominent men of Duluth to-day.

Colonel Graves was married May 20, 1873, to Grace Totten, daughter of General Joseph G. Totten, for twenty-five years chief of engineers in the U. S. army. She is a most charming lady, who is devotedly loved by a large circle of friends.

The traits of character possessed by the colonel are marked. He has inherited studious habits and intellectual tastes, which enable him to make up for any defects in early education. In the state senate he was generally taken to be a lawyer by those not informed to the contrary. He has great energy and capacity for organization and execution, with an original mind naturally inventive. He is enthusiastic about his adopted home, and has had much to do with furthering its progress. For years he has been director in the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad company; president of the Union Trust & Elevator company; vice-president and manager Lake Superior Elevator company, and officer and director in many other organizations. He has also been mayor of Duluth.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.



J. Marshall

CLINTON MARKELL.

In close connection with the efforts of Mr. Munger, in behalf of Duluth, should be mentioned those of his business partner, Clinton Markell. For many years a co-laborer with Mr. Munger in plans for the advancement of the city, Mr. Markell is in fact a much earlier resident in the Lake Superior region, and an earlier though not less earnest advocate of Duluth.

Peter Markell, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a native of New York, being born near the city of Rochester. In early life he emigrated to Ohio, and there married Betsey A. Bartholemew, a native of that state. He established his home at Kirtland, where, on the seventeenth day of January, 1832, Clinton Markell was born. As a school-boy Clinton attended the district schools until he was eight, and afterwards, until he was thirteen, the academy at Kirtland. With this brief educational career, at the age of thirteen, he commenced the active duties of life as clerk in the dry-goods house of S. S. & H. Fasset, then one of the largest institutions of the kind in the state. He remained with this firm ten years. In October, 1855, he was married to Kate E. Watrous, daughter of Winthrop Watrous, a resident of Ashtabula. In the spring of the following year the young couple moved to Superior, Wisconsin, where Mr. Markell engaged in mercantile business. Impressed with the idea that the coming city at the head of Lake Superior would be in Minnesota, he joined with J. D. Ray, John I. Post, Dr. A. B. Robbins and Sidney Luce in the purchase of the land now known as the Portland division of Duluth,

which they platted in 1856 as the town of Portland. After spending two years at the head of Lake Superior, Mr. Markell returned to Ohio with his family, and shortly after moved to Meadville, Pennsylvania, in the oil regions, where for several years he was engaged in mercantile business. In the winter of 1869 Mr. Markell spent some time in Washington on business. While there he met Honorable William L. Banning, who was trying to secure the passage of a bill then before congress, granting lands in aid of the Lake Superior & Mississippi railroad. Mr. Markell, when living in Superior, had become acquainted with Mr. Banning, and soon learned his business at the capital. Mr. Markell was receiving many courtesies at the hand of Honorable Ben Wade, then president of the senate and *ex officio* vice-president of the United States, whom Mr. Markell had known in Ohio. Through Mr. Markell, Mr. Banning became acquainted with Senator Wade, whose warm support of the pending measure was no small element in securing its passage. Mr. Markell became highly interested in the project, and in connection with Mr. Banning visited Philadelphia, and he became acquainted with Jay Cook, whose house proposed to place the bonds of the road. In compliment of Mr. Markell's efforts in securing the passage of the bill, Mr. Cook promised that he would notify Mr. Markell by telegraph immediately upon the placing of the bonds. In May of the same year, Mr. Markell received at Ashtabula the promised telegram, and was soon on his

way to Duluth, which has since been his home. The place at this time contained about two hundred people. Mr. Markell joined at once with the others already on the ground in the work of building the city. Since that time he has been closely identified with all the material interests of the city. In the second year of his residence he became its mayor, and afterwards served out the unexpired term of Sidney Luce. He has been several times a member of the common council, and has held other positions of honor and trust. He was one of the founders of the grain trade of Duluth, and has always been connected with its elevator enter-

prises. In 1883, in connection with Mr. Munger, he built the Grand Opera house, the first really substantial building at the head of Lake Superior. He is one of the proprietors of the West Duluth Land company, the Imperial Mill company and the Duluth Iron and Steel works, and other large public enterprises. Mr. Markell has an abiding faith in the destiny of Duluth, and has shown his faith by his works. No man has labored more disinterestedly for Duluth. His family consists of his wife, herein before mentioned, one son, now married, and two daughters. His home is one of the most pleasant in the city.

ROGER S. MUNGER.

The progress of our rapidly-growing western cities is not uninterruptedly forward, as some people seem to believe. Periods of unusual growth are rapidly succeeded by periods of depression, and all cities, no matter how favored, have had their times, often years, of business stagnation. Duluth has certainly been no exception to this rule, but rather an exaggerated illustration of it. The city, however, has been fortunate in numbering among its citizens several men, who, knowing well its advantages and believing fully in its future, have yet had the persistent courage and enthusiasm, in season and out of season, to champion its cause before the outside world. The splendid achievements of to-day are fitting monuments of their untiring and unselfish efforts. Among all these no one is more deservedly prominent than Roger S. Munger.

Mr. Munger is a son of Sherman and Lucretia Benton Munger, natives of Connecticut, and was born at North Madison, in that state, February 25, 1830. Mr. Munger's boyhood was, however, passed in New Haven, to which place the family had removed. He had the benefit of the public schools of that city, and in addition completed a course at the Hopkins Grammar school, preparatory to entering Yale college. He decided, however, not to take the college course, though fully prepared for it, and at the age of twenty-one entered business, having for six years sole charge of a large music store in New Haven. At the end of this time he came west, spent one year in Iowa and then came to St. Paul, where he engaged in the music business with his brother, Russell C. Munger. Mr. Munger was largely instrumental in securing the capital and organizing the company that built the



R S Manger

Grand Opera house in St. Paul. In 1869 Mr. Munger came to Duluth, and formed a partnership in lumber business with R. A. Gray, which continued for about six years. In 1872 the firm of Munger, Markell & Company was formed, consisting of Mr. Munger, Clinton Markell, Russell C. Munger, heretofore mentioned, and another brother, Gilbert Munger, a distinguished American artist, now and for several years residing in Paris, France. The firm built the second elevator at the head of Lake Superior, known as Elevator No. 1, which was burned in 1880. After a few years, Russell C. and Gilbert Munger retired, and the firm has since been continued as Munger & Markell.

Mr. Munger has always been closely connected with the grain and elevator business of the city. Under the joint management of himself and Colonel C. H. Graves, the elevators of the Lake Superior Elevator company and the Union Improvement and Elevator company, furnishing storage for twelve and a half million bushels of grain, have been constructed. In 1883 the firm of Munger &

Markell built the Grand Opera house. A pet scheme of Mr. Munger's had long been the building at Duluth of a large flouring-mill, and his hopes in that direction are being realized in the Duluth Imperial mill, now in course of construction, which, when completed, will have a capacity of six thousand barrels of flour per day, the largest of any mill in the world. The Duluth Iron and Steel company and the West Duluth Land company are largely indebted for their success to Mr. Munger's untiring efforts. Scarcely any large public enterprise has in recent years been undertaken in Duluth in which Mr. Munger has not been financially interested, and to the success of which he has not materially contributed. He is a director of the Duluth & Winnipeg Railroad company, and has rendered valuable assistance in securing other railroads.

In 1858 Mr. Munger was married at Vassalboro, Maine, to Miss Olive Gray. They have two daughters. The family residence is pleasantly situated on Piedmont avenue, near Fourth avenue, West Duluth.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN PHELPS.

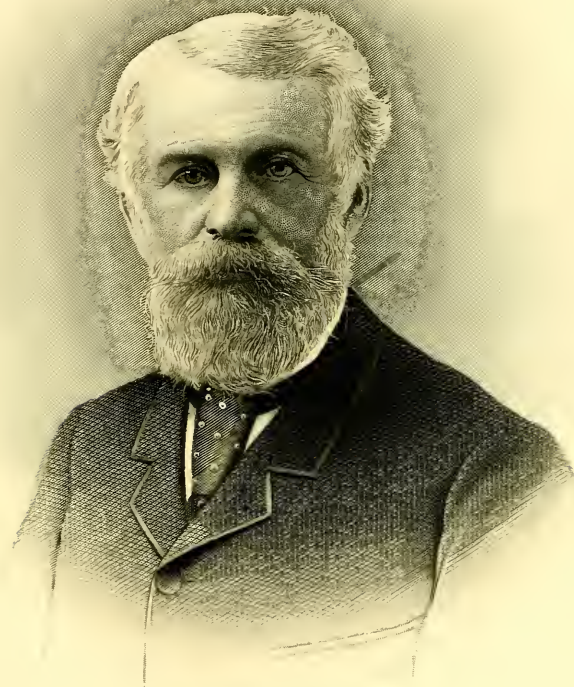
The career of him whose name appears at the beginning of this notice illustrates most forcibly the possibilities that are open in this country to earnest, persevering young men possessing the courage of their convictions and determined to be the architects of their own fortunes. It proves that neither wealth nor social position nor influential friends are essential to the attainment of emi-

nent usefulness, honorable distinction and true success in entering upon the work of life. It shows that if a man's rank among his cotemporaries is to be determined by the amount of useful and beneficent work he has accomplished, then the subject of this sketch has lived a life worth living and made a record that ought to be worthy of the appreciation of his fellow-men.

William F. Phelps was born at Auburn, New York, on the fifteenth of February, 1822. His father, Halsey Phelps, was a native of Sharon, Connecticut, but at the age of four years removed with his parents to central New York, near Auburn. The mother of William was born at Hebron, Washington county, New York. Her maiden name was Lucinda Hitchcock. The parents were both intelligent, industrious and thrifty people, and gave to their nine children the best opportunities for education that the common schools of that day were able to afford. The father owned a valuable farm one mile north of the city of Auburn, upon which were valuable quarries of blue and gray limestone. From these quarries the materials for many of the most solid and tasteful buildings in that beautiful city were constructed.

Of the nine children, William was the fifth, there being four older and four younger than himself. In early life his health seemed delicate and precarious, and for this reason it was deemed best that he should be prepared for some sedentary pursuit. Accordingly he was allowed special school privileges. When about fourteen years of age he was sent to the Auburn High school, an excellent private institution, in charge of an able and skillful instructor from Boston, by the name of Albert Metcalf. The influence of this school upon the life and character of the young student was most marked and beneficent. But the health of Mr. Metcalf failing under his arduous labors, the school was discontinued and William was transferred to

the Auburn academy, in which he spent several years. According to the custom of those days, a teachers' class was formed during four months of summer and autumn, the aim of which was to prepare candidates for work in the country schools. Mr. Phelps was a member of one of these classes, and it was through the influence of the special instruction given here that he was led to look upon teaching as at least a temporary pursuit. His father favoring the idea, at the age of sixteen he was master of his first school in a rough country district, about eight miles north of Auburn. Here, in a small, dilapidated school-house, on the corner where four roads met, he found himself the instructor of sixty pupils, of all sorts and conditions, from four to twenty-four years of age. The room was furnished in the style then common, with high forms along the walls of three sides, with benches to correspond, while in the centre, on each side of the stove, seats were furnished for the small pupils, made of slabs supported by round legs protruding above the surface, and so high that the little ones literally sat up and stood down, being higher when sitting than when on their feet. The experience of the young teacher here was a rough one, but nevertheless he carried through his engagement successfully, with his characteristic energy and determination, to the end of the term of four and a half months. During the succeeding four years his time alternated between teaching in the winter and pursuing his studies at the academy in the summer. As a teacher he soon took a



William F. Phelps.

high rank, according to the testimony of the county superintendent, being considered a good disciplinarian and earnest, enthusiastic and skillful in his methods of work.

While thus occupied, teaching in the winter and studying in the summer, the State Normal school was established at Albany by an act of the legislature, passed at the session of 1843-4. This was only the third of its kind in the United States. Having previously read the glowing accounts of the government training-schools in Europe, and particularly in Germany, as given by Horace Mann of Massachusetts, in his famous 'Seventh Annual Report,' Mr. Phelps was fired with the ambition to enjoy the advantages which he was persuaded would be afforded by the great state of New York in making a similar provision for the preparation of teachers. Making known his desire to the county superintendent of schools, whose confidence he possessed to an eminent degree, his name was presented to the county board of supervisors, with strong recommendations, as one of the three representatives to which the county of Cayuga was entitled at this school. These representatives from the several counties were apportioned according to the number of members each possessed in the house of assembly of the state legislature.

At the head of the normal school was David P. Page of Massachusetts, who, as principal, won a National fame during the three years of his administration, at the end of which he was stricken down with a malady that terminated fatally

January 1, 1848. Within less than a year from the opening of the school, Mr. Phelps was selected by Principal Page to organize a new department, known as the experimental or practicing school, composed of children, and designed to afford the student teachers of the advanced department an opportunity to gain experience in their chosen calling, under the supervision and criticism of an expert in the art. Such a task was one of extreme difficulty. To preserve the discipline and continuity of instruction of a school in which the teachers were to change each week was an undertaking of no easy character. But the work was accomplished, and at the end of four weeks Mr. Phelps returned to his duties as a student, and was succeeded by another, who was delegated to fill the position after an observation of one week. But these frequent changes soon led to utter confusion and inefficiency in the management, while the instruction itself proved to be extremely disconnected, illogical and unsatisfactory. Hence it soon became apparent that the head of the new department must be not only permanent but possessed of rare skill and executive ability in order to preserve the discipline, unify the instruction and at the same time drill the tyros and temporary teachers to a harmonious and efficient system of work.

This position, so difficult and yet so useful and important, Mr. Phelps was urgently solicited to accept. After much hesitation he at length reluctantly consented to do so, and filled it most acceptably for about eight years, during

which period several hundred cadet teachers passed under his supervision, criticism and instruction. This was a department whose influence was universally regarded as the most practical and helpful of all in fitting the teachers for their future calling. It was a kind of school laboratory, where educational experiments were tried, principles and methods were tested, and rules of practice deduced of lasting and inestimable value. Under such a *regime*, teaching becomes a rational art, based upon exact science, and prepares the practitioner to do his work with a degree of confidence and success that imparts to him a perpetual inspiration. While filling this useful position, Mr. Phelps was honored with the degree of master of arts by the authorities of Union college, Schenectady, New York, then under the presidency of the celebrated Dr. Nott. After a service of nearly eight years here, during which his health became seriously impaired, Mr. Phelps resigned, and for two years, 1853 and 1854, was engaged in traveling and in the pursuits of business, for both of which he had a strong attachment.

The legislature of New Jersey, at the session of 1855, passed an act providing for a State Normal school at Trenton, and appropriating the sum of ten thousand dollars annually, for a term of five years, for its maintenance. In July following, Mr. Phelps was unanimously elected principal of the institution by the board of trustees and continued to hold that office nine years. Under his vigorous and efficient administration the

school was not only eminently successful *per se*, but it exerted a powerful influence upon the entire common school system of the state, every county of which was visited many times, and great popular interest was everywhere awakened in the cause of education. He aided in the management of the teachers' institutes and delivered lectures at all the prominent points in the state. Under his advice and coöperation the Farnum Preparatory school was established at Beverly, as an adjunct to the State institution, and placed under his supervision. This school was endowed by a public-spirited citizen, Mr. Paul Farnum, who not only erected the building at his own cost and presented it to the state, but added the sum of twenty thousand dollars, the income of which was to be applied perpetually toward its support, the state contributing a like amount.

In 1856 a National Association of Normal instructors was formed for the promotion of the interests of this class of special schools, and at the first meeting, held at Worcester, Massachusetts, Principal Phelps was elected president, to which office he was reëlected successively for five years, and until its consolidation with the National Educational association, of which body it is still an active and efficient department. While in 1856 there were but eight or ten teachers' seminaries in the United States, yet, largely through the efficient agency of this association, the number has been increased to one hundred and fifty or more, and they now exist in

nearly every state of the Union, being recognized as indispensable to a complete system of popular education.

The prominence which the subject of this sketch had acquired as a leader in the normal school and general educational movement of the country gave him a reputation which is more than National. His reports as principal of the New Jersey Normal school, his writings and public addresses, were thorough and exhaustive and attracted the attention of prominent educators throughout the United States, the Canadian provinces and Europe. His first annual report discussed, in considerable detail, the history, organization, methods and results of these special schools, from the date of their origin to the time of its publication.

In 1864 he received an unexpected and urgent invitation to the post of duty in the great northwest. The state of Minnesota had, by an act of its legislature in 1860, made provision for a system of normal schools, the initial institution having been located at Winona during that year. But owing to certain local difficulties and to the embarrassment of the state finances, growing out of the War for the Union, the school was closed after a fitful existence of less than two years, the support of the state government having been withdrawn. But through the earnest efforts of its friends in the legislature of 1864, a moderate appropriation was secured and the system permanently inaugurated. The means thus furnished were entirely inadequate and the outlook was anything but encouraging. But Mr.

Phelps responded favorably to the call, and reached Winona in September of the same year, while the great Rebellion was still in progress. He at once applied himself, with his accustomed vigor, to the arduous task before him. No buildings had been provided, only a meager financial support by the state could be relied upon, while the public confidence, impaired by the previous failure, was at ebb-tide. A few weeks of earnest and well-directed effort, however, served materially to change the aspect of affairs. A building, temporarily fitted up, was secured, additional financial support was provided for through the liberality of public-spirited citizens, and the modest beginnings were made by the first of November following. For the next four months the principal was the only teacher in a school of more than forty students, composed of ambitious young ladies and gentlemen, aspiring to the honors and emoluments of the pedagogical office.

Subsequently, and during each successive year, the quarters were enlarged, talented assistants were selected, departments of observation and practice were added, an able instructor of vocal music was employed, and an interest was created which soon began to pervade the community, both near and remote. Semi-annual examinations, exhibiting to the public the most advanced and progressive methods of instruction, were attended by prominent citizens and school officers from all parts of the state, and through these agencies the new system secured the general, popular favor. Thus the prin-

ciples and methods of the so-called "new education," which ten years later gave to the schools of Quincy, Massachusetts, their notoriety, were in operation here long before the Quincy movement was begun. The impetus thus given to the cause of education in Minnesota, and the hopes inspired by the aggressive policy of this institution, soon crowded its seats with eager students, and made the demand for larger, better and more liberal accommodations imperative. Hence plans for a permanent and costly building were commenced in the early part of 1867. These plans were designed by the principal, and executed by one of the most experienced architects in the northwest, and the structure was and is regarded to-day as one of the most convenient and imposing of its kind in the northwest, if not in the whole country.

The legislature of Minnesota provided in the original act for three normal schools, located respectively at Winona, Mankato and St. Cloud. The former, being the first of the series, was in a measure the model for the entire system, and by the enthusiasm it created hastened the demand for the organization of the others. The board of directors relied largely upon the counsel and advice of Mr. Phelps in the organization and equipment of the other branches of the system. His hand was seen and his influence felt in all the work committed to the board, and during the protracted struggle for the maintenance of the schools. They are now universally admitted to be one of

the most important factors in the agencies and appliances for promoting education among the people, and their high standing to-day is primarily the result of the judicious and earnest work that was done in their defense during the earlier period of their history.

At the annual meeting of the National Educational association held at Minneapolis in 1875, Mr. Phelps was elected its president for the centennial of 1876, and presided over its deliberations at Baltimore in July of the latter year. It was a strong and representative gathering, and was made especially notable by the presence of many distinguished foreign representatives, who were in attendance at the Philadelphia Centennial exposition. Eminent educators from Japan, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, England, Austria, Germany, the Scandinavian and other European nations added weight and dignity to the deliberations of that meeting. A few days subsequently an International Educational conference was held at the Centennial buildings; Sir Redmond Barry of Australia was elected president and Professor Phelps vice-president of the conference. Owing to the unexpected absence of Sir Redmond, however, the vice-president was acting president throughout the entire session of two days. Representatives were present from most of the states of the Union, but from all the leading nations of Europe and America. This was the first gathering of the kind ever held. Its proceedings were most interesting and important, and were

published by the United States Bureau of Education, making a document of more than a hundred pages.

In 1875 Mr. Phelps published his 'Teachers' Handbook,' a volume of nearly four hundred pages. This book embodied the results of a wide professional observation and experience, and was especially designed to meet the wants of country teachers and of county institutes, which are agencies for their special preparation. This work met with a very favorable reception by the press and the profession, and still enjoys a wide circulation, particularly in the southern states.

The office of principal of the State Normal school at Winona was held by Mr. Phelps for twelve years, from 1864 to 1876 inclusive. It is but simple justice to state that, during this long period of his administration, that institution was brought into the foremost rank of seminaries of its class in the United States. It honestly earned a National reputation, and still maintains it, largely through the character it then acquired. Its graduates are to be found doing efficient, skillful, earnest service in all parts of the country. Many of them, through his agency, both direct and indirect, are at the head of similar schools in the Argentine Republic, where their services are highly appreciated and generously rewarded by the government of that country.

While at the International conference in Philadelphia in July, 1876, Mr. Phelps received by telegraph, from the regents of the Wisconsin Normal schools, a tender of the Presidency of the insti-

tution at Whitewater in that state. At a subsequent conference with these officials at Madison, a preliminary understanding was reached, by which a conditional acceptance was promised. The contingency implied in this agreement was the consent of the authorities of Minnesota, it not being advisable to take a step which would embarrass the work he had labored so long to build up in the sister state. This obstacle having been removed, he resigned his trust at Winona and accepted the tender of the Wisconsin regents, entering upon his new duties at Whitewater in the latter part of August. After holding this position two years, and finding the conditions attending the administration of the school unsatisfactory and distasteful, the buildings and equipment limited and inadequate, and his efforts restricted and embarrassed, he determined to return to the city and state to which he had become strongly attached through the pleasant associations of twelve years. While at Whitewater he was invited to accept the editorship-in-chief of the Chicago *Educational Weekly*, to which he contributed until his return to Winona.

Soon after his return to Minnesota he was offered and accepted the office of superintendent of the city schools of Winona, which he held altogether for four years. As a large number of the teachers in these schools had been his pupils, having graduated from the normal school, the duties of the office were very congenial. Through the vigorous measures and earnest work inaugurated here, the standard of discipline and in-

struction was raised, many needed reforms were introduced, and the schools received a strong impulse in the direction of the more modern ideas of education.

Drawing and manual training were made a part of the daily instruction. The zeal of the pupils, teachers and citizens was thus greatly quickened. At the close of the last year, a public exposition of the products of the new system was held. Specimens of industrial drawing, designing, hand work in clay, wood-cutting and carving, designs in paper and other materials, surprising in quantity, quality and variety, were displayed, filling a hall forty-eight by sixty feet in dimensions, and presenting one of the most attractive and beautiful spectacles ever offered to the admiring gaze of the people. The exhibit was visited by several thousand citizens, and was held open for five days. It was a conclusive answer to the question whether manual training can be successfully made a part of the usual school curriculum. It proved that, as an intellectual discipline, it more than justifies the labor, time and expense of the effort involved. By special request this exhibit was repeated a few weeks later at the fair of the Southern Minnesota Agricultural society, and it was conceded to have been the most attractive feature of the display.

The literary labors of Mr. Phelps, beginning at an early age, have been a conspicuous feature of his life work. In 1851 he won the prize of a gold medal offered annually, for the best essay, by the Young Men's association of the city

of Albany, one of the foremost organizations of the kind in the country. Previous to this he was associate editor of the *Common School Journal* of the state of New York. His writings for the press and for some of the prominent periodicals have been voluminous. He was a contributor to 'Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia,' published originally in 1873 and thoroughly revised in 1887. He accompanied the Yellowstone expedition in 1883, which located the route of the Northern Pacific railway, from the Missouri river westward, and on his return wrote a series of articles descriptive of the country and incidents of the trip. In 1875 his 'Teachers' Handbook' appeared, as before noted. In 1878 he prepared a series of six *brochures* at the request of Dr. J. H. Vincent, for the use of the Teachers' Retreat of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific circle, which were published by the Methodist Book Concern. His pen is still active and vigorous in the preparation of commercial reports and contributions to the press on financial, statistical and business topics. As an extemporary speaker he is reputed to be terse, fluent and forcible, and holds the attention of his audiences without effort. His reports, addresses and miscellaneous writings alone, if collected and published, would fill many volumes. At the Paris Universal exposition in 1878, he was awarded the "diploma of the silver medal" as an educational *collaborateur*, in recognition of his eminent services in that field. The report of the commissioners of the French republic, at the centennial ex-

position of 1876, to the government of that country, contains copious extracts from his works, with strong testimonials of their theoretical and practical value.

There is one feature in the life work of this gentleman that is worthy of special mention on account of its bearing upon his later and present pursuits. While as an educator and a writer he has ever been devoted to his special calling, yet he has never allowed himself to forget or neglect his relations and duties in connection with the general material welfare of the country and the progress of the community in which his lot has been cast. He has sympathized and associated more or less with business men and business interests. He has sought to do his part in promoting all public improvements. He has for many years taken an active part in the opening up and improvement of the great National waterways, on account of the bearings of this question upon cheap transportation. He was a delegate from the city of Winona to the Mississippi River convention at St. Louis in 1882, and at Washington in 1884, and a delegate-at-large, appointed by the governor of Minnesota, to the Upper Mississippi River convention at St. Paul in 1885. He was a member of the permanent executive committee on the Mississippi river, and as such, in connection with the other gentlemen of the committee, he appeared before and addressed the appropriate committees of the senate and house of representatives at Washington in behalf of larger appropriations for the improvement of the navigable waters of the west. Indeed, there

seems to have been no phase or feature of public improvements or material advancement that he has not studied, favored and helped to the full extent of his influence and services.

The cities of Winona, St. Paul and Duluth will ever have good cause to remember and appreciate his labors in their behalf.

For more than six years he was the secretary and chief executive officer of the Winona board of trade. He was one of the founders of that organization, and it was through his untiring and persistent efforts, in association with other public-spirited citizens, that Winona has advanced so rapidly within the past eight years as to have largely increased the number of her productive industries and doubled the aggregate of her population.

These efforts in behalf of Winona's advancement attracted the attention of the press and citizens of St. Paul. That city having become prominent as a centre of railway development and of the jobbing trade, also became ambitious to build up her manufactures. Her chamber of commerce, composed of the most wealthy, public-spirited and enterprising citizens, in the latter part of 1885 sought his services, and through a committee tendered the office of secretary to Mr. Phelps. After some hesitation, in view of a step which seemed to be in the direction of an entire change in the course of his life, he finally accepted this position so flatteringly and honorably tendered, and on the first of January, 1886, entered upon the discharge of his duties. By special

arrangement he had previously met the citizens of St. Paul at the chamber of commerce and delivered an address, in which he set forth his views as to the character and methods of the work which lay before him.

These views were received not only with unanimous approval but with hearty enthusiasm. He was made a director of the chamber, and had accorded him special privileges on the floor at its meetings.

One of the first enterprises to which his attention was given was that of securing the great stock-yards and meat-packing industry which constitutes so important a factor in the growth of the capital city. Through his judicious management many and various industrial establishments were attracted to St. Paul, and the amount of capital added to its manufacturing interests during the year 1886 was upwards of four million dollars.

Prior to the close of the first year of his services in St. Paul, the intelligent and progressive citizens of Duluth, having had their attention attracted to his work in the former city, made overtures, through the directors of the chamber of commerce of the latter, to the St. Paul secretary, to accept the tender of a similar position in the Zenith City. The turn in affairs was altogether unexpected, and the proposition was received with surprise and was considered with hesitation and doubt. The position and duties of the St. Paul chamber were pleasant and agreeable, but the Duluth officials were not to be defeated in the accomplishment of their purpose. Their

offers were so liberal, and the prospect for increased usefulness in promoting the growth of that new commercial centre, so rapidly rising to prominence at the head of Lake Superior, was so promising, that he did not feel at liberty to disregard them. Accordingly an engagement was made at Duluth for a term of three years from the first of February, 1887. Entering on his work with his accustomed zeal and energy, he soon found ample scope for the exercise of his talents and experience. One of his first acts was to take steps for the calling of a great waterway convention, at Sault Ste. Marie, to consider the condition and needs of the canal at that point connecting Superior with the lower lakes.

• In the Ste. Marie river is a fall of more than eighteen feet within the space of one mile. To overcome this difficulty a canal and lock had been constructed by the state of Michigan in the year 1855, but owing to the growth of the commerce of Lake Superior they had become totally inadequate to its wants. This growth was gathering added force each year, and it was only a question of a few years when a blockade must occur at these works. The United States government had constructed a lock of still greater capacity, which was completed in 1880, but so rapid had been the increase in the tonnage of the vessels navigating these waters that the appropriations had been made for a still larger lock sufficient to accommodate all future needs. But these had been so meager and irregular that the work was greatly retarded, and

fifty years must elapse, according to the calculations of the engineers, before the lock would be completed. The purpose of the convention, then, was to take steps to urge upon the government larger and more liberal appropriations for hastening forward the improvements.

All the details and preparations for the convention were worked up, and the convention was virtually fully prepared to do its work before it met, thanks to the organizing power and executive ability of its organizer. It assembled on the day appointed, commenced its proceedings at ten o'clock A. M., and at five P. M. had adjourned. Mr. Phelps was chosen temporary chairman and subsequently permanent secretary of the convention, and was elected a member of the executive committee. As a representative of that committee, he, with the chairman, appeared before the committees on commerce and rivers and harbors in congress, and presented the claims of this great work to the liberality of that body. The result was that provision was made in the River and Harbor bill of 1888 for an appropriation of one million five hundred thousand dollars for the more rapid prosecution of the improvements on the Ste. Marie Falls canal and Hay Lake channel. The secretary was intrusted with the entire duty and responsibility of the compilation, publication and distribution of its proceedings, and was allowed the largest liberty in supplementing these proceedings with whatever would throw light upon the important questions involved in this truly National work. Five thousand copies

were published and distributed. His measures, in coöperation with the directors of the chamber of commerce and the public-spirited citizens of Duluth, have accomplished much toward increasing the value of her mercantile and manufacturing interests, and in giving prominence to the city among the great commercial centers of the country. He has found that his experience as a leader of the young was of great value in aiding him to lead the builders of cities. He has unquestionably in this new line of duties made a profound impression upon the business interests of the great northwest. He is still in vigorous health, with energies and working powers unimpaired, and there seems to be no reason why his years of usefulness in his new field may not be extended for a yet indefinite period.

Mr. Phelps was married in the year 1852 to Caroline C. Livingston, widow of Crawford Livingston, founder of the American Express company. Her maiden name was Caroline C. Chapman. She was a native of the city of Albany. Mrs. Phelps is still living, although in somewhat impaired health. They have one child, a daughter, who is also married, and a granddaughter now seven years of age. His domestic life has ever been a pleasant and happy one, and it is venturing nothing to say that the thousands of persons of both sexes whom he has labored so long to benefit and bless, will indulge the earnest hope that he may be spared for many years in the service of the great northwest, whose varied interests he has striven so long and so successfully to promote.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

NANTUCKET AND THE WHALE-FISHERS.

THE area of Nantucket is not great nor are her claims to distinction spread over a wide and ambitious field, yet in one regard she has made a history of which the whole Nation may be proud, and caused her name to be known and respected for hardihood and courage wherever the ocean flows or the wild sea winds blow. From the same reason that England became a maritime nation, the little island off the New England coast produced a race of sailors and fishermen; for babes born within sight of the dancing waves and where the roar of the surf and the storm are a cradle lullaby, do not need great incentives to lead them out upon the waters when grown to man's estate, and are seldom content to spend all their years upon the land. From the beginning of the white man's adventures upon this side of the Atlantic, Nantucket and ships and fishermen and the whaler have been as parts of one great whole, and the history of the one could hardly be found without some inclusion of all the rest.

The first whaling expedition in which Nantucket had a part, so far as the history shows, "was undertaken," as Macy, in his history of the island, tells us, "by some of the original purchasers of the island, the circumstances of which are handed down by tradition and are as follows: A whale, of the kind called 'scragg,' came into the harbor and continued there three days. This excited the curiosity of the people and led them to devise measures to pre-

vent his return out of the harbor. They accordingly invented and caused to be wrought for them a harpoon, with which they attacked and killed the whale. This first success encouraged them to undertake whaling as a permanent business, whales being at that time numerous in the vicinity of the shores."

The next point of history upon which we come in this relation* occurs in 1672, in which year the town of Nantucket and one James Loper entered into an agreement of which the following is the purport: Loper "doth Ingage to carry on a Designe of Whale Catching on the Island of Nantucket; that is to say James Ingages to be a third in all Respects, and som of the Town Ingages also to carry on the other two thirds with him in a like manner—the town doth also consent that first one company shall begin, and afterwards the rest of the freeholders or any of them have Liberty to set up another Company, provided they make a tender to those freeholders that have no share in the first company, and if any refuse the rest may go on themselves, and the town doth ingage that no other Company shall be allowed thereafter; also, whoever kill any whales, of the Company, or Companies aforesaid, they are to pay

* The writer is under obligation for many of the facts in this paper to a comprehensive 'History of the American Whale-Fishery, From its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876,' by Alexander Starbuck, and published in the report of the United States commission of fish and fisheries for 1876.

to the Town for every such whale five shillings, and for the Incoragement of the said James Loper the Town doth grant him ten acres of Land in sume Convenient place that he may chuse in (Wood Land Except) and also liberty for the commonage of three cows and Twenty sheep and one horse with the necessary wood and water for his use, on Conditions that he follow the trade of whalling on this Island two years, in all seasons thereof, beginning the first of March next Insuing ; also he is to build upon his Land, and when he leaves Inhabiting upon this Island he is first to offer his Land to the Town at a valuable price, and if the Town do not buy it he may sell it to whom he please ; the commonage is granted only for the time of his staying here." The best authorities are of the opinion that Loper never went to Nantucket, nor assumed any rights or responsibilities under this grant. At the sametown meeting at which the above document was passed upon, a grant was also made to one John Savidge, upon condition that he made his residence upon the island for three years, and also that he should "follow his trade of cooper upon the island, as the Town or whale Company have need to employ him." Savidge accepted and made his home upon the island.

From the date last named, 1672, until 1690 there is little light cast upon this great industry of the island, a tradition remaining that in the year last named "several persons were standing upon what was afterwards known as Folly House Hill," when one of them, observing the whales at play out in the

sea, pointed to them and prophetically said, "There is a green pasture where our children's grandchildren will go for bread." In the same year, as the people of Nantucket discovered that their neighbors of Cape Cod had made greater proficiency than themselves in the "art of whale catching," they sent for Ichabod Paddock, one of the Cape Cod whale-fishers, who removed to the island and instructed its people how to best kill the whales and obtain their oil.

In the opening of the eighteenth century, the town of Sherburne, then so-called, but now known as Nantucket, assumed great importance as a whaling port, the people having, it appears, made rapid advance as pupils under the master imported from Cape Cod. Whales spouted and spouted about in great abundance, and short voyages were required for their capture. "The south side of the island," one authority informs us, "was divided into four equal parts, and each part was assigned to a company of six, which, though thus separated, still carried on their business in common. In the middle of this distance they erected a mast, provided with a sufficient number of rounds, and near it they built a temporary hut, where five of the associates lived, whilst the sixth from his high station carefully looked toward the sea, in order to observe the spouting of the whales." When he gave the signal, the boats would be swiftly lowered and filled with men, and the chase commenced. When the capture was made, the whale was towed ashore and cut up, and made to yield its store of oily riches. The men of Nantucket soon became as expert as any in the land, and the

industry grew rapidly in size and importance. The first sperm-whale taken by them was captured by Christopher Hussey, in 1712, and was the means of effecting a radical change in the method of conducting the business. "He was cruising," says Macy in his history of the island, "near the shore for right-whales, and was blown off some distance from the land by a strong northerly wind, where he fell in with a school of that species of whales, and killed one, and brought it home. This event gave new life to the business, for they immediately began with vessels of about thirty tons to whale out in the 'deep,' as it was then called, to distinguish it from shore whaling. They fitted out for cruises of about six weeks, carried a few hogsheads, enough probably to contain the blubber of one whale, with which, after obtaining it, they returned home. The owners then took charge of the blubber and tried out the oil, and immediately sent the vessels out again." Six sloops were Nantucket's contribution to this species of fishery by 1715, with a production of oil to the value of £1,100 sterling, the shore fishery being at the same time continued. In 1720 there is a record of a small shipment of oil to London, England, although there is no positive knowledge that the island had not made such importation before. By 1730 there were employed in the fishery twenty-five vessels of from thirty-eight to fifty tons' burden each, while the returns were about three thousand seven hundred barrels of oil worth £3,200. The high-water mark of the shore fishery for the island was reached in 1726. "During that year," says Mr. Starbuck, whose history

has already been mentioned, "there were eighty-six whales taken by boats, and the Coffins and Gardners, the Folgers, the Husseys, the Swains and Paddocks, the progenitors of that race of men who carried the name and fame of the little island of Nantucket to every accessible port on the globe, are chief among those who gathered this harvest.*

"As the business of whaling increased and was more systematically pursued, the size as well as the number of vessels employed was naturally increased. Schooners were added, and the vessels increased to between forty and fifty tons. As the whales about the island decreased in number because of the merciless war waged upon them from many quarters, the vessels were compelled to cruise farther and farther out in the deep sea; going southward until about July 1, when they returned home for discharge of cargo and refitment, and then cruised to the eastward of the Great Bank during the remainder of the whaling season. But the disturbances that were felt in the other industries and among the oppressed colonies of the new world touched this department of enterprise with a serious and severe hand. It was a trying time to the whale-fishery from about 1750 to 1784; during the greater portion of which time

* The largest number of whales taken in one day was eleven. In the *New England Weekly Journal* of December 21, 1730, appears an advertisement informing the public that there has been just reprinted "The Wonderful Providence of God, Exemplified in the Preservation of William Walling, who was drove out to Sea from Sandy Hook, near New York, in a leaky Boat, and was taken up by a Whaling Sloop & brought to Nantucket after he had floated on the Sea eight Days without Victuals or Drink."

the business was carried on under risk of capture, from the Spanish and French at first, and at last by the English. As one result, the Colonial Davis strait fishery was quite abandoned, the vessels cruising mostly to the eastward of the Grand Banks, on the edge of the gulf stream, and near the Bahamas." A continual succession of foreign wars, in which the hardy fishermen and farmers of New England were constantly called to the aid of England, coupled with a like succession of intolerant measures adopted by the mother country toward the plantations, which, in common with the colonists at large, they felt impelled to resist, was gradually preparing America for the eventual struggle which was to end in its independence. "By the experience of the wars they learned their strength; through the pressure of the tyrannical acts they learned their rights." Before the expedition for the reduction of Nova Scotia in 1755, an embargo was laid upon the Bank fishermen, although the risk of capture was such that only the most venturesome made their appearance in those waters. Two years later, in 1757, the embargo being still continued, the people of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard presented a petition to the general court of Massachusetts, in which they set forth this plaint: "Being Informed that your Honours think it not advisable to Permit the fishermen to Sail on their Voyages untill the time limited by the Embargo is Expired by Reason that their fishing banks where they Usually proceed on said voyages lyes Eastward not far from Cape breton, which may be a means of their falling into the hands of the french which

may be of bad Consequence to the Common Cause. Your Memorialists would Humbly observe to Your Honours that that is not the Case with the whalemén, their procedere on their Voyages is Westward of the Cape of Virginia, and southward of that untill the month of June, from which Your Memorialists are of the mind there is nothing like the Danger of their falling into the hands of the Cape breton Privateers as would If they went Eastward. Your Memorialists would further Observe that the whalemén have almost double the Number of hands that the fishermen Carry, which makes Their Charge almost Double to that of fishermen and ye first part of the Whale season is Always Esteemed the Principal time for their making their Voyages which If they lose the greatest part of the People will have nothing to Purchase the necessaries of life, withal they haveing no other way which must make them in a miserable Situation. Your memorialists would therefore beg that ye Honours would take Our Miserable Situation under Consideration, and grant our Whalemén liberty to Proceed on Our Voyages from this time If it be Consistent with your Great wisdom, as in duty bound shall ever pray."

In response to this very fair and modest request, the council, on April 8, 1758, passed the following resolution: "Inasmuch as the Inhabitants of Nantucket most of whom are Quakers, are by Law exempted from Impresses for military Service. And their Livelihood intirely depends on the Whale fishery—Advised that his Excele'y give permission for all whaling Vessels belon'g to s'd I'd to pursue their Voyages, taking only the

Inh'ts of s'd Island in s'd Vessels and that upon their taking any other persons whatsoever with them they be subject to all the Penalties of the law in like manner as if they proceeded without Leave." Nothing appears in the order concerning Martha's Vineyard, one of the joint petitioners.

In the years 1755 and 1756, Nantucket was a heavy loser, both through the chances of the sea and of the foreign foe. Six of her vessels in the years named were lost at sea, and six more taken by the French and burned, with their cargoes, while the crews were made prisoners of war. "In 1760 another vessel was captured by a French privateer, of twelve guns, and released after the commander of the privateer had put on board of her the crew of a sloop they had previously taken, nearly full of oil, and burned. The captain of the sloop, — Luce, had sailed with three others who were expected on the coast. The day after Luce was taken, the privateer engaged a Bermudian letter of marque, and was beaten. During this engagement, several whalemén in the vicinity made their escape. In the same month, June, another privateer of fourteen guns took several whaling vessels. one of which was ransomed for four hundred dollars, all the prisoners put on board of her, and she landed them at Newport. In 1762 another Nantucket sloop was taken by a privateer from the French West Indies, under one Monsieur Palanqua, while she was cruising in the vicinity of the Leeward islands."

The year 1775 saw Nantucket the owner of a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels, with a burden of fifteen thousand tons

—to which extent had her great industry already grown. The business was carried on with its customary losses and gains until the War of the Revolution came, and proved a serious blow to the general prosperity. Of the one hundred and fifty vessels above named, one hundred and thirty-four had fallen into the hands of the English by 1784, and fifteen more had been lost by shipwreck; many of the young men had perished in the perils of the war; in about eight hundred families on the island there were two hundred and two widows and three hundred and forty-two orphans; the direct money loss far exceeded one million dollars; and one man alone, William Rotch, lost over sixty thousand. The patriotism and courage of the people of this little bit of soil set in the ocean, may be understood somewhat from the estimate that no less than twelve hundred seamen, mostly whalemén, were captured by the English or perished at their hands, during the Revolution, from Nantucket alone. The War of 1812 also entailed a great loss, the Nantucket fleet being reduced from forty-six to twenty-three during that period; but by the close of December, 1820, she possessed seventy-two whale-ships, with an aggregate of 20,449 tons, besides several brigs, schooners and sloops. In the year 1835 commenced that season of whaling which opened what has been called the Golden Age of the industry. "During the next decade the whale-fishery assumed its greatest importance, and reached the zenith of its commercial value." In this year, 1835, the ship *Ganges* of Nantucket, Barzillia T. Folger, master, captured the first right-whale ever taken on the Kodiah

ground, which was the commencement of this fishery on the northwest coast. From this period the fleet rapidly augmented in size to the year 1846, when there belonged to the various ports of the United States 678 ships and barks, 35 brigs and 22 schooners, with an aggregate capacity of 233,189 tons, and valued at \$21,075,000.

The special fortunes of Nantucket, from the close of the Revolution to modern days, have been briefly summarized* in the following words: "Recovery from the disasters of the war was slow. The principal market for oil was in England; and to shut off the importation from America, parliament passed an alien duty of £18 sterling a ton. Although the general court of Massachusetts, in response to the petitions of the people of Nantucket, declared a bounty, it did not permanently remedy the trouble. So heavy was the pressure brought to bear upon Nantucket by the adverse circumstances immediately succeeding the Revolution, that large numbers of her hardy mariners and wealthy merchants were compelled to leave the home endeared to them by so many happy associations, and seek in foreign countries the recompense for their toil and their investments that they were unable to obtain in the United States. Some of them settled in Nova Scotia, some in England and some in France. In the English and French fisheries there sailed a large number of officers and men who once found a home in Nantucket. Following closely upon the stagnation re-

sulting the troubles from the Revolution, came the troubles with France, in which Nantucket suffered to the extent of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Then again came complications with England early in the nineteenth century. Scarcely had a slight gain been made, and the business again become remunerative, when the War of 1812 occurred. A large portion of Nantucket's fleet of forty-six whale-ships was then at sea. The first of the fleet captured was the schooner *Mount Hope*. In rapid succession came the tidings of the capture of ship after ship until one-half of the number, besides smaller vessels, had fallen a prey to British cruisers. Some were taken on the return voyage within sight of the island. The miseries and deprivations of the Revolution were repeated; the same struggle for existence was maintained against the same terrible odds. In February, 1815, came the tidings of peace, and again our islanders essayed to restore their shattered fortunes. The first vessel to return to any port in the United States with a cargo of oil, after the last war, was the sloop *Mason's Daughter*, which, after a six weeks' voyage, returned to Nantucket on the ninth of July, 1815, with one hundred barrels of oil. Recovery from these disasters of 1812-15 was rapid. In 1819 occurred the accident to the ship *Essex* of Nantucket, which has always been accounted one of the most singular and direful that has ever happened to a whaling vessel. An enraged sperm-whale attacked and sunk her, and the crew were obliged to make a journey of three months' duration, and about two thousand miles in extent, in frail, shattered whale-boats.

* From 'The Island of Nantucket: What It Was and What It Is.' Compiled by Edward K. Godfrey; published by Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1882; page 339; in an article prepared by Alexander Starbuck.

But eight of a crew of twenty men survived to tell of the terrible perils and privations of the voyage. In 1824 occurred another memorable disaster to the crew of a Nantucket whaling ship. The crew of the ship *Globe* mutinied, killing the superior officers and some of the men. But eight of the crew returned alive to Nantucket to tell this tale of horror. The others—those who were not killed by the mutineers—were massacred by the natives of the Mulgrave islands, to which place the vessel had been taken by the conspirators.

“The business of whaling, from Nantucket, reached its culmination in 1842, when eighty-six ships and two brigs and schooners belonged to the port, having a capacity of 36,000 tons. From this time the pursuit from Nantucket declined. Losses by a terrible visitation of fire, the stampede for the gold mines of California, the scarcity of whales, the expense of fitting and increased dangers of the Arctic fishery, the decline in the value of the product, the discovery of petroleum, all served to cause the downfall of whaling, not only in Nantucket, but in other ports. In 1869 the last whale-ship sailed from the port of Nantucket; and the business, so far as the island’s interest is concerned, is a thing of the past. Nantucket’s mariners now sail from other ports, and the story of their skill and daring are stories of by-gone years.”

These are the bare outlines of a record full of wonderful events and thrilling scenes of danger and heroism that would need the generous space of volumes to relate. The personal deeds of the Nantucket men are scattered all along the pages of American history. With John

Paul Jones on the *Bonhomme Richard* were five Nantucket men, when he earned his glories in the English channel and the North sea; and no one was found more worthy to convey a prize to France than Lieutenant Reuben Chase, made immortal as “Long Tom Coffin” in Cooper’s novel of ‘The Pilot.’ The variety of adventures that are a part of that history is as great as the theatre of operations upon which they were performed. The Boston *News-Letter* of an early date relates one of them: “In October, 1767, a whaling schooner belonging to Nantucket arrived at the bar off that port, on board of which were four Indians, who had had some dispute at sea, and agreed to settle it on their return. As the vessel lay at anchor, the vessel and crew—except three white men and these Indians—went ashore. The whites being asleep in the cabin, the Indians went on deck, divided into two parties, and arming themselves with whaling lances, commenced the affray. The two on one side were killed immediately; the other two were unhurt. The white men, hearing the affray, rushed upon deck, and seeing what was done, secured the murderers. In November of the same year some Newburyport fishermen were astonished at perceiving their vessel hurried through the water at an alarming rate without the aid of sails. Upon investigating the cause, it was found that the anchor was fast to a whale, and the cable was cut, relieving them of their unsolicited propelling power.” From an interesting sketch* penned by F. C. Sanborn, esq., the subjoined incidents are culled at

* Nantucket *Journal*, April 2 and 9, 1885.

random, as furnishing points of interest in supplement of what has gone before :

"The ship *Thames*, Captain Reuben Clisby of Nantucket, sailed in October, 1822, from New Haven for the Pacific ocean, having on board the first missionaries for the Sandwich islands, Revs. Mr. Bingham, Williams, Charles Stewart and others, with their wives. They landed at Oahu and Lapina in May, 1823. The ship *Helena*, Captain Uriah Coffin of Nantucket, also sailed from New Haven for the Pacific. Both ships came home with full cargoes of sperm-oil from the coast of Japan, but oil was only worth thirty-eight cents per gallon, and the ships were sold to Sag Harbor.

"In 1785 Mr. William Rotch went to London and there waited four months upon George III. and William Pitt and his council, subject to the call of Pitt at any time. Lord Hawkesbury at length gave him a hearing, but would not listen to Rotch's proposition to bring twenty ships from America, with all their material for whaling, and enter them free of duty. Mr. Rotch, tired of waiting, and getting no satisfaction from Hawkesbury, left England on the ship *Maria* for Dunkirk, France. On his arrival in Paris he was granted an early interview by the French minister, who agreed to admit his ships, and, in fact, agreed to all Mr. Rotch demanded, and the business was soon in successful operation. His ships were dispatched to the Pacific coast of Africa and Falkland islands. On the first of February, 1792, the ship *Falkland*, Captain Obed Paddock, arrived at Dunkirk, filled with sperm-oil. A week later the *Harmony*, Captain David Starbuck, ar-

rived with a full cargo from Peru. These ships were among the first that obtained sperm-oil in the Pacific ocean. The *Harmony* was afterwards (1796) sunk by a whale on Brazil Banks, which leaped on board in the night. The crew were all saved, being taken on board the ship *Lee* of Nantucket. Abel Rawson was captain of the *Harmony* at the time. This Captain Rawson kept the Staten Island Light, New York, as late as 1826.

"When the French revolution broke out, the Rotches accepted certain terms from the English government and went to Milford Haven with a part of their ships. After the revolution in France the Rotches had two fleets of whalers, one sailing from England, the other from France, and this continued until the death of Mr. Benjamin Rotch, in London, in 1839. The French fleet continued in existence until the death of Mr. William R. Rodman, a grandson of Mr. Rotch, which event occurred in 1855, the business thus remaining in the family for seventy years, and passing from grandfather to grandson.

"While in France Mr. Rotch appeared in the French assembly with a petition for a modification of the Conscription and Maniago laws, which should favor the Friends or Quakers, many of whom had emigrated from Nantucket with their families to France. He was listened to with marked attention by all who were in the assembly. Mirabeau was chosen to reply to him, and it was a masterly effort. Edward Everett is quoted as saying that it was the best speech he ever made.

"During the War of 1812 Nantucket was attacked at home and abroad. England kept her *Scorpions*, *Nimrods* and *Bull-dogs*

hovering around the island, capturing everything inward or outward bound. At times the inhabitants were in extreme distress for the bare necessities of life. When peace was declared in February, 1815, there was an unusual demonstration and great rejoicing among the people. The ocean was once more open and free to their ships, and they were not long in sending to sea a new and extensive fleet. We soon had a large number upon Chili, Peru and what was known as the 'off-shore' whaling-ground, which extended from near the equator as far west as the Society and Navigator's group of islands. But whales had become scarce, and the oily monsters must be sought after in new seas. In 1820 the ships *Maro* and *Rambler* of Nantucket, commanded respectively by Captains Joseph Allen and Benjamin Worth, in company with the *Syren* of London, belonging to Samuel Enderly, Captain Frederick Coffin, *Cyrus*, Captain Elisha Folger, jr., and *Balena*, Captain Edmund Gardner of New Bedford, rendezvoused at the Sandwich islands. Here they met Captain Winship of the ship *O'Cané*, a veteran northwest coast merchantman, who informed them that while crossing on his many voyages from the Sandwich islands to Canton, China, he observed a great number of sperm-whales on what was called the coast of Japan, in latitude twenty-five degrees north, longitude one hundred and sixty-five degrees east, even up to the Japan islands. Convinced that the enthusiastic statements of Captain Winship could be relied upon, the several captains hurriedly recruited their ships and sailed into these unfrequented seas. Two of the fleet arriving off the

coast of Japan in the spring of 1820, on the tenth day of May Captain Coffin saw and struck his first sperm-whale; Captain Allen, in the ship *Maro* of Nantucket, struck the next whale June 1, and both ships were filled with sperm-oil in three months after leaving the Sandwich islands, each ship taking upward of 1,800 barrels.

"Captain Coffin, while making a voyage to the eastward of Cape of Good Hope in the same ship, *Syren*, met with an adventure that came near proving fatal to the whole crew. On a fine day, while near one of the Pilew islands, all the boats being from the ship in pursuit of whales, and but a small number of men remaining on board, she was taken forcible possession of by the natives of those islands, who drove the men into the rigging for safety. The ship and all on board were now in a perilous position. These naked and howling savages had full command of the ship. When the mate came alongside he comprehended the situation at a glance, and immediately gave orders for the men in the top to open the arm-chests and scatter all the tack-nails they could find out upon the deck. This was promptly done, and the nails poured down like rain upon the heads of the demons. This was a kind of warfare which they were not prepared for. They could not understand it. The deck was literally covered with tacks, and, being barefooted, the sharp little nails penetrated their feet, while with shrieks and yells of rage and pain they tumbled headlong into the sea, leaving the ship once more in the hands of her rightful owners. The natives, however, did not leave the ship without severely injuring at least one of the crew.

While giving his order for the men in the top to scatter down the tacks, the mate, Mr. Absalom Bunker, received a severe wound from an arrow just above one of his eyes, which necessitated his return to Nantucket and final retirement from the sea.

"Reading the annals of the Nantucket whale-fishery, and looking back at the events that have occurred in connection with this gigantic business during the one hundred and seventy-five years of its history, call up many well-remembered scenes and traditions. Many and thrilling are the stories that can be told of incidents that have occurred under the frozen mountains of Disco and Greenland, on the burning coast of Africa and on Brazil, and on the more savage coasts of the Falkland islands and Patagonia. And what a terrible loss of life and property has there been in the fearful encounters of our hardy seamen with that monster of the deep, the sperm-whale! Of all the different species of whales, the spermaceti is the most savage when aroused. Instances are on record where, as soon as struck by the harpoon, they have shown fight, and have attacked and crushed into kindling wood one, two, and even three boats in turn, crushing and mangling in

their huge jaws some poor fellow, or with one sweep of their monstrous tails sending whole boats' crews to a watery grave. There are many living to-day who bear the marks upon their persons of wounds received in these terrible encounters. Some have lost limbs, teeth, had broken bones, and received contusions upon various parts of the body.

"One more fact and I am done. The first ship to cross the equator to the southern hemisphere was the *Amazon*, commanded by Captain Uriah Bunker, who obtained a full ship and anchored at Nantucket bar April 19, 1775, the day on which the battle of Lexington was fought."

"The men of Nantucket," says Mr. Sanborn with a proper spirit of home pride, "were the pioneers and directors of the whale-fishery for upwards of one hundred and seventy-five years. At this and every other port that followed it the record is a good one and will stand forever. Other people having had at times a small degree of success, have claimed more than belonged to them, and would fain leave us in the wake of their recent beginnings. We ask nothing but what belongs to our place and people, and shall maintain at any cost our prerogative as pioneers."

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

STEPHEN VANDERBURG HARKNESS.

THE late S. V. Harkness, who was suddenly called, a few months since, out of a life that had been full of labor and crowned with an exceptional usefulness, was born at Fayette, Seneca county, New York, on November 18, 1818, the son of Dr. David Harkness, who had removed to that place from Salem of the same state. The father was one of four brothers, three of whom were physicians, and a member of a family that stood high in the regard of the community. When the son was but two years of age, death deprived him of the loving care and attention of a mother, and this loss was doubled by the death of his father five years later. He was then taken into the family of an uncle. When but fifteen years of age, such slight advantages of schooling as had been afforded him came to an end, and he was set face to face with the actual realities of life. In accordance with the custom in general vogue in those days, he was apprenticed at this early age to a trade, that of harness-making being the one chosen in his case; Waterloo, New York, being the home of his employer. With that industry and courage, in the face of difficulties, that were among his marked characteristics in after life, he applied himself to his new task with a determination to become its master and make of it a stepping-stone to the success he was already determined to achieve. He pursued this line of occupation until reaching his majority, when he determined to have a part in the chances

for advancement then offering in the growing places farther to the west. Proceeding first to Bellevue, Ohio, he soon after removed to Monroeville, in the same state, where he carried on his trade for two years, at the expiration of which period he returned to Bellevue and embarked in the business of buying and selling stock. In 1852 he again removed, this time to Caledonia, Ohio, where he carried on the stock and distillery business together. In 1855 he once more made Monroeville his home, where he conducted the distillery business in connection with Mr. Bishop Perkins; and upon the death of his partner, two years later, conducted the enterprise alone. Success had been the natural result of his enterprise and business genius, and he was already recognized as one of the leading business men and capitalists in his section of the state. In 1860 he took another step forward in the road to success, and opened a private banking house in Monroeville. In 1866, feeling the need of a wider field of operations, he sold his various enterprises in that neighborhood and removed to Cleveland. He took a commanding position from the first among the business men and capitalists of that city, and gave early proof of his shrewd foresight and intuition of the chances offered by the future, by his alliance, in the formative days, with one of the financial marvels of the age. He became a partner in the firm of Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler, in the refining



S. B. Harkness

of oil—a combination that became the nucleus of the Standard Oil company, and from which that colossal enterprise has grown. From the first, Mr. Harkness had faith in the ultimate success of the company, and any demand made upon him for the furnishing of capital needed to carry the ambitious measures of the organization to success, was promptly answered. The faith that led him to embark in that enterprise remained with him in each successive step of its history, and brought him results of a magnificent character. While never taking part in the active management of the Standard, Mr. Harkness was one of its directors for many years, which position he held until his death, and his advice was often sought and followed by those in active control. After coming to Cleveland, Mr. Harkness took no special part in any of the enterprises in which he had investments, although his influence and the aid of his capital were felt in many ways in the advancement of the material interests of the chosen city of his home. About 1869 he purchased the one-third interest, owned by Mr. Oviatt, in the Union elevator, Gardner, Burt & Oviatt, proprietors, and placed Mr. Morse in the firm as his representative, the firm name being changed to Gardner, Burt & Morse. In 1872 Mr. Harkness sold his interest to M. B. Clark. He was a director of the Euclid Avenue National bank; president of the Cleveland Arcade company; president of the Iron Belt Mining company; director of the Ohio River Railway company, and connected at various times with other organizations of a similar or less prominent character. He was often importuned, after his removal to

Cleveland, to reënter active business life, but always declined, feeling that in his years of activity he had performed as large a share of the world's work as one man could be rightfully called upon to perform. The large block on the corner of Euclid and Willson avenues that bears Mr. Harkness' name was erected by him at a time when that now busy quarter had given little promise of the activity it now presents, and his enterprise in that direction was one of the means of making Euclid Crossing the important point it has become.

While never neglecting the many interests of his own, or of others that were entrusted to his hands, Mr. Harkness, in these two last decades of his life, took ample time for the cultivation of tastes and the enjoyment of pursuits which were beyond his reach in the early days of youthful struggle, and the earnest labors of active business life. A passionate lover of nature, he gave many hours of each day to the open air, and was never more content than when engaged in some improvement, by cultivation, upon the efforts of nature, enriching, developing and beautifying some chosen spot to which his fancy had become attached. The grounds of his home on Euclid avenue, or of his lake shore farm in Willoughby, which he purchased some ten years ago, furnish abundant evidences of his taste and generous expenditure in this direction. The summers and autumns of recent years have seen him almost constantly at this beautiful suburban retreat, to which he hastened whenever a day of freedom from business demands presented itself. For some seasons before his death

he spent his winters in the south, in order that his love for outdoor life, and especially for fishing, might be enjoyed. In these pursuits, nothing in the marvelous variety of animal, plant or marine life escaped him, and many were the curious specimens he labored to secure and send home for the inspection and admiration of friends. His yacht *Twilight*, upon the waters of the gulf and the rivers of Florida, and his *Peerless* upon Lake Erie, were seldom idle when he was within their reach, and the long days and quiet nights he spent with family and friends upon their decks, were seasons of life he enjoyed to the fullest, and occasions for pleasant remembrance by those who were of his company. No man ever had a deeper or more sincere love for home and family, and it was in the one and with the other that his indoor hours were happily spent. Society and the club had little that could charm him; and as one who knew him well has said: "His heart was bound up in his family; it is the home circle that will miss him most; in the home circle he was best understood."

While Mr. Harkness was averse to anything that could attract public attention toward himself, and marked his career by no special charity with which his name was identified, he gave constantly, and in amounts and to a total of which not even those who knew him best could bear witness. As Dr. Haydn bore modest testimony in his eloquent tribute to his departed friend, "He was always giving. We have always found him ready to respond, freely and often. Moreover, I doubt if there have been many churches built here in these late years to which he

has not lent a hand, and some of them could not have gone forward but for him. He believed in planting churches, so many and so fast as they were needed. The church enterprise at the corner of Madison and Euclid avenues owes its present status and growing hopes largely to him. It has been my fortune to often make requests of men of means for causes connected with the public weal, and I do not remember that Mr. Harkness ever refused me. One of his latest benefactions was to one of our local charities—the Central Inn." Mr. Harkness refused all requests to take part in official or public life, although a close and interested observer of public events, and of the current happenings of the day the world over. He was a believer in Republican principles, and a supporter and loyal member of the Republican party.

In his business life, the subject of this brief memoir displayed talents of the highest order, and the success he won was by no mere combination of happy circumstances, but the legitimate fruits of an industry that hesitated at no labor, a courage that could meet obstacles and difficulties unmoved, and a natural genius intelligently applied. Those who knew him the most intimately speak with wonder of his intuition as to the future, and the keen foresight with which he could read the commercial and financial signs of the day, and indicate thereby the changes of the morrow. He could generalize conditions as then existing, and at times reach prophetic conclusions without being able, perhaps, to explain the steps or processes by which his results were attained. Many illustrations of this remarkable

faculty could be furnished did space permit. His judgment in business matters was of the highest character, and was continually exercised in aid of those about him, who had come to depend greatly upon his advice. Positive in his declarations, and self-reliant in all things, he never undertook a measure without seeing it through to the end, no matter what resources of courage or capital it demanded. His honesty was of the staunchest character, and in a business career extending over a half century and involving thousands of transactions, great and small, no man was ever knowingly wronged by him, or made to suffer a loss by depending upon his word or trusting in his honor. Dislike of crooked practices was an instinct of his character, and whenever he found himself connected ever so remotely with an enterprise that did not suggest square dealing, or parties who were not fair and above board, he made haste to end all connection therewith; and strong and vehement was his wrath when someone in whom he had trusted had meanly betrayed that confidence. As was said in the memorial discourse from which quotation has been already made: "It was with great satisfaction that I heard one, long and intimately associated with Mr. Harkness in business life, speak of his integrity, his unobtrusive modesty and quiet reticence over his successes, his faithfulness to his friends, and of his word being as good as his bond." While, in many ways, as most self-made men do, he felt the lack of those advantages of education and culture which his early years of self-support and self-dependence kept beyond his reach, he made the loss good

by keen observation, by reading, and by keeping in the storehouse of memory the many things that the clear-sighted and strong-brained traveler sees in his journey through life. Few men were better informed as to the average affairs of life and the world, and none could more fairly analyze a theory or define an idea, or bring it to a sound investigation before the bar of common sense.

In accordance with the custom already referred to, Mr. Harkness, in January, 1888, started upon his usual winter visit to the south, and hoped, in the pursuit of health and his loved out-door recreation, to spend several months upon his yacht and upon and about the waters of the Florida coast. His time was thus pleasantly spent until the early days of March, when he left Orlando, with the purpose of making a trip along the coast. An imprudent exposure to the cold when heated gave him slight trouble, which he was sure would be removed; but when some fifteen miles from land, he was taken suddenly with congestion of the heart, and although all the simple remedies at hand were carefully applied by those on board, they were of no avail, and on Tuesday night, March 6, he passed into the eternal sleep. The *Twilight* made all possible haste to Charlotte harbor, whence the sad news was sent to his family and friends in the north. Although well along in years, the health and strength of Mr. Harkness had been such that the announcement came like a sudden blow upon the wife and family, and upon the community of which he had been so long a part. The remains were borne to the home he had loved so well, and thence were con-

veyed to the quiet rest of Lake View. Words of sympathy and respect were heard upon all sides, and the wife and four children who survive him had reason to feel that, in all the varied experiences

of a long and active life, the departed husband and father had been true to his manhood and the higher duties of life, and had left them the rich legacy of an honored name.

J. H. K.

OMAHA.

IV.

THE town of Omaha (it would be improper to speak of it as ever having been a village) did not at once develop into a city, although it was given that title when named ; it was nearly three years in its chrysalis state, during which period occurred many events worthy of record. Before dwelling upon these, it is important to note the plan which had been adopted by its founders in "laying out" the site, and to make mention of the circumstances by which they became its real owners by virtue of patents issued to them by the United States. But first, as to its name. It was called "Omaha City" in honor of the Indians who claimed the land as their territory at the treaty held in March, 1854, with the Omahas, Otoes and Missouris, and who yielded their title to it, at the same time, to the general government.* It is certainly an appropriate appellation ; and it will perpetuate to the latest generation

the memory of the aboriginal inhabitants of this immediate section of country.

A number of definitions have found their way into print of the word "Omaha"—all of which assume that there was originally such a word, and that it was the name of a particular nation of Indians when the country was first explored by white men ; but this is error. The original word, or name, as already intimated, was not "Omaha," but "Maha." The change is easily explained, for many other proper names in the country have undergone exactly the same alteration. As before stated, the earliest visitors to the Valley of the Missouri were white men, speaking the French language. By them the nation now known as the "Omaha" was spoken of as "au Maha," pronounced as if written "o Maha ;" the meaning being "the Maha," in English. In course of time

* "During the summer of 1853, communications with Indians disclosed the fact that the Kickapoos, half-breed Missouris, Otoes and Omahas were not only willing but anxious to sell their lands to the government. In order to facilitate business, we determined to call a convention to meet at St. Joseph, Missouri, during the winter of 1853-4, for the purpose of memorializing the President and congress in regard

to the necessity of taking early steps to treat with the Indians, organize the territory and open it up for settlement. . . . The early settlement of Nebraska seemed to be a fixed fact, treaty or no treaty. The objective points for town sites and towns was the first thing to be taken into consideration."—E. H. Coles, in 'Trans. and Reps. of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.,' Vol. I., pp. 38, 39.

the English-speaking explorers to this region not only spoke the two words ("au Maha") as one word ("Omaha"), but so wrote it; hence its present form.*

A vague tradition among the Indians gives this account as to the origin of the word "Omaha:" "Two tribes," so runs the narrative, "had met on the Missouri river and engaged in an encounter in which all on one side were killed, except one, who had been thrown into the river. Rising suddenly from what was thought to be a watery grave, he lifted his head above the surface and pronounced the word 'Omaha,' which had never been heard before. Its meaning was that the supposedly drowning Indian was above the water and not under it, as his enemies supposed, and those who heard it took that word as the name of their tribe."† But this account is wholly erroneous.‡

The word "Omaha" was not in use, so far as I have been able to discover, prior to the year 1815.

*The Maumee river in Ohio was first known to the French and by them called "Au Miami," that is, "the Miami," pronounced in English ears as "O Miami." This was corrupted to "Omee," and finally to "Maumee." It is a singular fact that the Anglaize ("Au Glaize"—"the Glaize") has retained its original orthography as well as its pronunciation.

†'History of the State of Nebraska' (Chicago: 1882), p. 682. Compare, in this connection, 'Omaha Illustrated,' under the heading, "The City [Omaha] Surveyed and Platted."

‡For an ingenious but erroneous attempt to explain how the word "Omaha" came to be used, see letters of Rev. Wm. Hamilton, published in the 'Trans. and Reps. of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.,' Vol. I., pp. 47-49, 73-76. The reverend gentleman confuses the whole matter in this way, after affirming that "Omaha" is a contradiction of "Eromaha:" "The

The question is, then, not what is the origin or meaning of the word "Omaha," but of "Maha." From a reliable statement, recently made, we learn that it signifies "farthest up the river"—"up yonder"—"up above the others;"§ so that by "Maha Indians" is meant "up-river Indians." The place actually received its name before the survey of the site, as will hereafter be fully shown.

The lands upon which the original survey of the town was made were, as to title, first vested wholly in the United States, by virtue of the treaty of March, 1854, with the Omaha Indians: then, by the general government, they were sold and patents issued for the same, first, on an entry made on the seven-teenth of March, 1857; second, on a bid made at a government sale on the fifth day of July, 1859. The last-mentioned patent was of the date May 1, 1860, and is known as the McCormick patent, it having been issued to John McCormick; the other was issued October

letter 'O' was always annexed or prefixed to 'Mahas; 'Omaha' is proper. The early voyagers, the French, abbreviated the word or name by leaving off the word 'O' and calling them 'de Maha,' instead of 'des Omaha.'" See, also, as to another of Mr. Hamilton's letters, upon the same subject, 'The Early History of Nebraska.' By Alfred Sorenson (Omaha: 1876). p. 33.

For still another error with regard to the word "Omaha," see an account of Henry Fontenelle, entitled "A History of Omaha Indians," published in the volume just cited (p. 77), where he derives the word from "Kemoha," meaning "against the current"—"against the wind."

§ Robert W. Furnas, in 'Trans. and Reps. of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.,' Vol. I., p. 49. This information was obtained by Mr. Furnas from an old chief of the Omahas, known as Noise, or Muttering Thunder.

1 of the same year, and is called the Lowe patent, it having been granted to Jesse Lowe as mayor. Both were issued to the patentees in trust for the owners of the lots upon the town site, under and by virtue of an act of the United States congress, entitled, "An act for the relief of citizens of towns upon the lands of the United States under certain circumstances," approved the twenty-third of May, 1841.

These patents were for lands in the northeast quarter and the north half of the northwest quarter of section number twenty-two, and lot number two in fractional section number twenty-three, in township fifteen north, of range thirteen east, of the government survey; which survey was made after that of "Omaha City," but previous, of course, to the issuing of the patents. The McCormick patent was for seven hundred and fifty-seven and one-fifth acres; the Lowe patent called for two hundred and ninety-eight and one-fifth acres.

The general plan of the survey of the site was on a very liberal scale, for which the present city has reason to be profoundly thankful. The surveying, mapping and marking of the public highways—the streets being one hundred feet wide, and one, "Capitol avenue," one hundred and twenty—exhibit very forcibly the generosity of Dr. Enos Lowe, who, as president of the ferry company (the founders), supervised the work as it was carried forward by the surveyor—A. D. Jones. All the lots were staked out sixty-six by one hundred and thirty-two feet, each with an alley in the rear. Three squares

were dedicated to the public: these were Capitol square, Washington square and Jefferson square. A park was also reserved for public use, but, subsequently, the latter (as well as Washington square) was vacated by the city and sold. Capitol square contained four blocks of the survey, the other two squares, one block each, while the park absorbed seven. Jefferson square was numbered as "Block 42," Washington square, as "Block 118." The blocks in Capitol square and the park were not numbered.

Under the head "Plan of Omaha City," the editors of a paper printed at Council Bluffs say, in their first number, which was issued on the twenty-eighth of July, 1854, that the survey "has been made with the greatest possible care and accuracy by A. D. Jones, esq., and is now platted and can be seen at Tootle & Jackson's store, at Dr. Lowe's office, Bluff City, or at Mr. Gaylord's, recorder, this place [Council Bluffs]. The lots are sixty-six feet front and one hundred and thirty-two in length, every lot running back to an alley twenty feet wide; and, instead of laying off the entire tract into small lots for speculation, our lots have been laid off around the business part on a liberal scale, including an ample number of commanding and beautiful points for private residences and gardens. All the streets are one hundred feet wide, except two avenues which lead to Capitol square, which are one hundred and twenty feet wide. All the alleys are twenty feet wide. Squares have been reserved and set apart for all

the leading and principal denominations, and for Masonic and Odd Fellows halls."

The date of the plat is September 1, 1854; and the names of the proprietors, as appear on the lithographic copy of the map, are Enos Lowe, James A. Jackson and Samuel S. Bayliss & Company. The steam ferry is represented as having its location at the foot of Davenport street, and at the west end of same street and as a continuation of the same, is marked an "emigrant road." As a continuation of Twentieth street running north, is put down "Winter Quarters road," and as a prolongation going south, is marked the "Bellevue road." It is said on the plat that "lots will be given to persons who will improve them; and that private sales will be made on the premises." It is also stated that a "newspaper, the *Omaha Arrow*, is published weekly at this place [Omaha City]," and that "a brick building, suitable for the territorial legislature, is in process of construction." It is further recorded that "a steam-mill and brick hotel will be completed in a few weeks." The map of the survey was not recorded, but was lithographed in St. Louis, the accuracy of the latter being fully established.*

The name of Dr. Lowe it would be unjust to pass over with a mere mention. Omaha is so much indebted to him, that his memory ought to be cherished by all its citizens. He was born at Guilford Court House, North Carolina, on the fifth day of May, 1804, of Quaker

parentage. He graduated at the Ohio Medical college in Cincinnati, and afterward practiced his profession with success. In 1847 he was appointed receiver of the land office at Iowa City, and was subsequently a member of the Iowa legislature and president of the senate. He was a member of both constitutional conventions of that state and president of the last one. In 1853 he was appointed receiver of the land office at Kaneshville, now Council Bluffs, Iowa, holding the office two years, when he resigned. He was one of the pioneers of Omaha, where he died on the twelfth day of February, 1880.†

A writer who saw Omaha almost in a state of nature speaks glowingly of its site. "Omaha City," he wrote, "is beautifully situated on a wide plateau, the second bottom of the Missouri river. Back of it rise the bluffs by gentle slopes, from the summits of which the great prairies of the interior roll in beautiful undulations. From the first of these may be seen the grandest view the eye of man ever looked upon. Up and down the river on the Nebraska side run as far as the eye can reach the table-lands, so smooth, so unbroken, so perfect, the hand of art could not add to, or take from, one part of it. Beyond is the river, bordered by heavy trees, with its broad shallows and turbid current, floating with serpentine windings. On the opposite side is the broad bottom of the river; and, cutting short

*One of these lithographs is now in the possession of Byron Reed, a resident of Omaha.

† An interesting biographical sketch of Dr. Lowe, written by his son, W. W. Lowe, is printed in the 'Trans. and Repts. of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.,' Vol. I., pp. 111-114.

the view, rise the bold, rugged bluffs of Iowa, the tracery of their forests standing out in the clear atmosphere with the strongest distinctness, while Council Bluffs lies ensconced within an opening—a busy mart of all that region.”*

A record of “first things,” generally so perplexing to the local historian, naturally follows the recital of the survey and platting of a town. It is a laudable curiosity which induces the inquiry as to first settlers and first events. Fortunately, so far as Omaha is concerned, there is no lack of information on this score.

It is not often that a city—even one existing only in name—has a post-office established and a postmaster appointed before it is surveyed or a house erected on its site; such, however, was the case with “Omaha City.” A. D. Jones having a “claim” adjacent to what was soon mapped out as the town, applied in the early part of April, 1854, for the location at “Omaha City” of a post-office. What transpired as a result of his application, the following letter sufficiently shows, premising that the application of Mr. Jones was made through Dr. J. D. Test of Council Bluffs (of which place the applicant was a former resident), and that Bernhart Henn was then a member of congress from Iowa:

“WASHINGTON CITY, May 6, 1854.

“*Dr. Test*.—Yours of the tenth ultimo, relative to Omaha City post-office, has been received. I got the office established to-day and had A. D. Jones appointed postmaster.

“Yours Truly,

“BERNHART HENN.”

It is to be understood that “A. D. Jones, postmaster of Omaha City,” did not actually reside on what was a few weeks after surveyed and platted by him as the town; his “claim,” however, was close at hand. In November of the previous year he had crossed the Missouri from Council Bluffs, and “squatted” on what he afterwards named “Park Wild.” But the Indians complained, and he was ordered off by the government agent, and, as a consequence, retired across the river. In the following spring he again sought to bolster up his right as a squatter to “Park Wild,” and one of his schemes to hold possession was that just mentioned, of getting appointed postmaster. A post-office building was immediately erected; and on the twenty-eighth of May, 1854, the new postmaster moved in. However, five days previous, the bill organizing and admitting Nebraska as a territory passed congress; and as the Indians had given up their title to the lands in the vicinity, Mr. Jones had no occasion to look to his office for protection as a squatter.

Even before the “City” had been put upon paper, it had its fourth of July celebration. The glorious “fourth” was “kept” on the grounds of what was afterward named “Capitol Square” (already mentioned) by a picnic, held by a party of Council Bluffs people, among whom were quite a number who afterward became the first settlers of Omaha.

It was on the eleventh of July, 1854, that the future city received its first actual residents; for on that day Mr. and Mrs. Newell came over from Coun-

* James M. Woolworth, in ‘Nebraska in 1857,’ p.93.

cil Bluffs—the former to work in the brick-yard and his wife to cook for him and other laborers there employed. William P. Snowden and wife, also from Council Bluffs, came across the Missouri and took up their residence in the “City” on the same day ; so that now it could boast of two families resident ; but the Newells only remained three weeks. Mr. and Mrs. Snowden, therefore, were the first permanent settlers in Omaha. They had charge of the “St. Nicholas” as host and hostess, keeping it as a boarding-house for the ferry company’s employés during the residue of the summer and the ensuing autumn.

Immediately following the survey of the town—that is to say, on the twenty-second of July—a large and respectable number of claimants upon the public lands in the vicinity of “Omaha City” met at that place. They proceeded to enact “claim laws,” and elected A. D. Jones judge, S. Lewis, clerk, M. C. Gaylord, recorder, R. B. Whitted, sheriff. As to “Omaha City,” they adopted the following preamble and resolution :

“WHEREAS, the Council Bluffs & Nebraska Ferry company obtained the consent and approbation of the Indian agent in July last [1853], now one year ago, to establish a steam ferry at and between Council Bluffs and the point where we are now assembled, now known as Omaha City ; and,

“WHEREAS, said company has expended large sums of money in the purchase of a steam ferry-boat, and in keeping it in regular operation ; in making roads and in starting the first

brick-yard in the territory for making pressed and other superior bricks ; and,

“WHEREAS, said company is about erecting a substantial and commodious brick edifice, suitable for legislative, judicial and other public purposes ; as well as other buildings and improvements on their ferry claim, now Omaha City ; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That we recognize and confirm the claim of said company as staked out, surveyed and platted, recently, into lots, blocks, streets, alleys and out lots ; and bounded on the east by the Missouri river, on the north by Jeffrey’s claim, on the west by Gaylord and Johnson’s claim, and on the south by Jones’ claim ; and that we will countenance and encourage the building of a city on said claim.”

It was not only that “Omaha City” had a post-office, but soon there was (as before intimated) a newspaper established there. The “City” was now not in imagination merely—an ideal town—but had actually been surveyed and platted, and there was at least one house on its site having occupants. Although this edifice was of round logs and withal a small and rough structure, it was dignified by the name of the “St. Nicholas.” Here several persons who held claims in the vicinity were wont at first to congregate in the evenings and cook their bacon, corn-bread and coffee in the centre of the room, a portion of the puncheon floor having been removed for that purpose. That the “St. Nicholas” was built while the survey of the town was

in progress, seems altogether probable from the circumstance that it was located *on the corner* of two streets—Jackson and Twelfth. But to return to Omaha's first newspaper.

On the twenty-eighth of July, 1854, was issued from the office of the Council Bluffs *Bugle*,* the first number of a weekly paper called the *Omaha Arrow*. It was announced therein that the paper was to be published every Friday morning at Omaha City, Nebraska Territory, J. E. Johnson and J. W. Patterson, editors and proprietors. Volume I., No. 1, at the head of the first column, on the first page, had the following: "J. W. Patterson, Attorney and Counsellor at Law, and General Business Agent, Omaha City, Nebraska Territory." The advertisement heading the second column on the same page has some historical importance: "Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry. In view of the importance of making a good road to the river above high water, and the permanent establishment of a steam ferry, the 'Council Bluffs & Nebraska Ferry Company' was organized last summer [1853], under the general incorporation law of the state [of Iowa], thereby uniting sufficient capital for those purposes. And the company now have the

pleasure of announcing that the road is built, according to the survey and plan of Colonel Curtis, and secures uninterrupted access to the ferry, and makes it the best and nearest landing for the river packets, high or low water, and that their new steamboat *Marion*, of ample power and dimensions, to clear the track from day to day, is now here, ready to commence crossing immediately at the opening of spring. This ferry is due west of town [Council Bluffs] and in sight; and travelers up the Platte valley will find this the only direct route. Charges shall be reasonable and uniform." Although printed as an "ad" in the *Arrow*, it is evident that this was an old advertisement—one of the fall before—which had appeared in the *Bugle*.

The *Arrow* was advertised in advance by the *Bugle*, whereupon the Muscatine *Enquirer* made merry over the announcement. "From the Council Bluffs *Bugle*," said the editor, "we learn that a weekly paper—*The Omaha Arrow*—is to be started at Omaha City, Nebraska. The *Arrow* is to be a Democratic paper; success to it. 'Omaha City, in Nebraska!' that sounds droll. But our surprise is infinitely lessened when we learn that this young city contains the sum total of six houses. By the time the universal Yankee nation gets across Nebraska, but one house will be needed to constitute a city; and each squatter will lead a city life."

Under this pleasantry, the *Arrow*, upon its first appearance, could not rest comfortably, so it struck back. "Why, my good fellows," said the

*From Vol. I., No. 1, of the *Arrow*, we learn that it was "published on Friday of each week at Omaha City, Nebraska Territory (opposite Council Bluffs), at \$2 per year in advance. For a time and until our press and fixtures arrive, it will be printed at the office of the *Bugle*, Council Bluffs, Iowa, to which place communications for the present may be addressed. A sufficient number will be issued to furnish all from the first number for some time. Send in your subscriptions and advertisements. We will send 3 copies for \$5, or 13 for \$20."

editors, "we took you for western men who knew something of pioneer life. Come out, sirs, and in a short week we will satisfy you that there are decidedly too many denizens in Omaha City for comfort. Why, sirs, the 'St. Nicholas' of New York city is no circumstance for comfort, ease and cheap living to its namesake in our city. [The editors do not reveal the fact that it was the only house in the city.] Here you may get venison, fowl, bird or fish, cooked in any manner you please. You may smoke in the parlor here, put your heels upon the sideboard without injury to the furniture, or, for variety, you may spread your buffalo on the green prairie grass and take a comfortable snooze without fear of being run over by a score of woolly-headed servants. Omaha City, indeed! Why we have editors, squatters, deer, turkeys, grouse and other 'animals' a plenty, and we will soon show you that Omaha City will be one of *the* cities of the west."

The editors of the *Arrow*, in their first number, give the pronunciation of the word "Omaha," as then current, but this pronunciation has materially changed since 1854. "As many of our foreign friends," they said, "will be unable to pronounce this word ['Omaha'], we will, from our Indian directory, assist them. The proper pronunciation is O-maw-ha, accenting the middle syllable."

"A great rush," says the first issue of the same paper, "is now being made by emigrants to this favorable territory, consequently, everything pertaining to

locations, prospects, town sites and the country generally, will be interesting to our distant readers. We shall therefore give, from time to time, all such information as will be necessary on these points, and herewith note the town sites which at present attract most attention. Omaha City may be considered among the first in importance. It is situated directly opposite Bluff City, upon a delightful and slightly eminence, overlooking the country on all sides for miles around, bringing in view the city of Council Bluffs, town of St. Mary's, Trader's Point and Council Point in Iowa, and Winter Quarters in this [Nebraska] territory. It extends directly to the river landing and back, upwards of a mile, and some mile and a half up and down the river. There are some fifteen hundred lots surveyed, together with a large square on the summit of the elevation for the capitol. The streets are one hundred feet wide and alleys divide each block. There are a number of cool, clear streams and springs of water in various parts of the town site. A heavy body of timber, including many square miles, lies immediately below and adjoining the city, and the wide, open prairies stretch back from the river, that will make most delightful farms. An extensive brick-yard is in successful operation, and a large amount of prime lumber and shingles is looked for daily. A number of houses are already reared, and hundreds are anticipating building this summer and fall. Preparations are in progress for rearing a large and commodious

building immediately, to be used at present as a state-house, and for offices of the various departments, provided it should be required by the Executive. A good and commodious ferry-boat runs every day between this city and Council Bluffs. Much bustle and activity are exhibited by many who are preparing to build and remove to our new and delightful territory."

The first real estate advertisement relating to "Omaha City" will interest the reader. It was prefaced by an editorial in the *Arrow* to the effect that "our city is surveyed, and lots—choice lots—are now for sale (see advertisement):

"OMAHA CITY LOTS FOR SALE.

"A limited number of lots in Omaha City are now ready for private sale. Call on the undersigned, or on Mr. Boyer at Tootle & Jackson's store

[Council Bluffs]. Lots will be given to persons who wish to build this season.

"July 28, 1854."

"E. LOWE.

When the Snowdens settled in "Omaha City" and became the first permanent residents of the town, their immediate neighbors were Omaha Indians, then living near what was and still is called Sailing's Grove, in Sarpy county, about five miles southwest of the city. Wolves, rattlesnakes, with another reptile of still more hideous mien, but not venomous—the bull-snake—then infested the beds of the two creeks, which have since disappeared in sewers. Mr. and Mrs. Snowden, with others, in the following winter nearly froze and starved. They had to live on leaden bread, cove oysters, "side meat" and sanguine hopes. Of the last mentioned, it is needless to say they had an abundant supply.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[To be continued.]

THE BAR OF OMAHA.

THE erection by congress, in 1854, of the territory of Nebraska was speedily followed by the appointment of Fenner Ferguson as chief-justice and Experience Estabrook as district attorney of the new organization. These officers reached the western bank of the Missouri soon after their appointment, the chief-justice establishing his residence at Bellevue and Mr. Estabrook choosing Omaha as his home. Judge Ferguson was doubtless influenced in his selection by the fact that Honorable Francis Burt, the first governor of the territory, had, as it was understood, fixed upon Bellevue, a beautiful and commanding site about ten miles south of Omaha, as the seat of government. Harassed, however, beyond measure and worn out by the vexatious trials incident to his new position and the persistency with which the conflicting claims of rival town-site speculators were pressed upon him, the new governor, in just ten days after his arrival in the territory, relinquished the struggle and sought rest in the grave. His successor, Governor Cuming, was built of stronger stuff, and though "plied, begged, pressed, entreated, assailed and even threatened" by almost every township in the territory, he at last escaped from further importunity by designating Omaha as the place where the first session of the legislature should be held.

An Executive proclamation, however, directed that the session of the territorial district court for the First district should be held at Bellevue; and in this beautiful village, therefore, on the twelfth day of March, 1855, the first court ever held in Nebraska was solemnly opened. Those appear to have been easy times for Nebraska judges. The only business transacted at that term of the court was the appointment of Silas A. Strickland as its clerk and the administration to him and filing of the official oath. These weighty affairs having been satisfactorily accomplished, the court adjourned, for rest and recreation, to the twelfth day of the next April. On that day the labors of the judge were less onerous, the only business being an adjournment for six months to the sixteenth of October.

Upon the last-mentioned date the court came promptly to time, and on this occasion its session was held in the city of Omaha. The chief-justice presided, with Mr. Estabrook as district attorney and Mr. George Armstrong as deputy clerk. Fortunately for the reputation of the tribunal, a suit had by this time been commenced. This was the case of William Whitmore against Almiron Lockwood. Of this, the pioneer case in a Nebraska court of record, the files have disappeared, and the journals of the court give us but little information. Even the names of

the attorneys engaged in it nowhere appear. All that we know of it is that a demurrer was interposed to the petition, which was argued on the twenty-third of October, 1855, and taken under advisement by the chief-justice, who on the next day rendered his decision sustaining the demurrer and dismissing the action. So ignominiously perished the first-born of Nebraska jurisprudence, without even an opportunity for a trial on the merits.

"O fairest flower, no sooner blown but blasted,
Soft, silken primrose fading timelessly away."

Another case which came up at this term of the court, and, like the former, never reached the ordeal of a petit jury, was that of the Territory of Nebraska against Charles A. Henry. This excited great interest among all residents of Omaha, and is well remembered by such of them as still survive. The defendant (commonly known as Doctor Henry) was a man of great force and energy of character, attractive manners, sudden and quick in quarrel, impetuous, rash and careless of consequences. He had been unfortunate enough to kill his antagonist, one Hollister, in an affray which took place on the steps of a building then standing on the present site of the United States National bank. Forthwith, as is usual in such frontier cases, sides were formed, one denouncing the homicide as an atrocity, without excuse or palliation, and the other maintaining it to be purely a case of justifiable self-defence. The doctor was committed to jail on a mittimus from Judge Ferguson, and by his orders was handcuffed and shackled. This

seemingly needless severity may perhaps be explained by the imperfect security which any place of confinement at that early day could offer. Of the first grand jury summoned to deliberate on this case, hardly any remain alive, and but one, so far as known, is at present a resident of Douglas county. Jesse Lowe, afterwards a wealthy real estate owner in Omaha, was its foreman. After an investigation of two days the jurors reported that they could not agree upon a bill of indictment, and asked to be relieved from further consideration of the case. Whereupon followed cross motions, one by Henry's counsel for his discharge, and the other by Prosecuting Attorney Strickland for an adjournment and submission to another grand jury. After a day's meditation, the judge sustained the latter motion, ordered a new venire, and directed the defendant "to be confined meanwhile in the manner heretofore prescribed." The latter clause of the order, however, probably became the subject of earnest remonstrance, for on a subsequent day it was modified, "by striking out so much as relates to manacles and fetters." But the new jury, which was sworn on the twenty-seventh of the following November, had no better luck than the old, for on the first of December they "return to the court that the charge against Charles A. Henry be dismissed," which was accordingly done; and so ended a prosecution which had produced no little heart-burning and heated discussion.

Within the first year after the organization of the court—that is, up to March

12, 1856—the court records exhibit the following list of attorneys admitted or practising before it: D. H. Solomon, A. J. Poppleton, E. Estabrook, James M. Woolworth, Allen Root, Oliver P. Mason, William E. Moore, T. B. Cumming, Charles Grant, Bird B. Chapman, Silas A. Strickland, D. W. Price, John M. Thayer, C. T. Holloway, L. L. Bowen, L. M. Closs, Jacob Safford, Jonas Seeley, J. McA. Latham, O. D. Richardson, A. J. Hanscom, C. E. Stone, A. C. Ford, R. L. Douglas and R. N. Matthews.

Many of these names speedily disappeared from the records, but it is worthy of note that of those who remained in the territory there is hardly one who did not succeed in acquiring fame or wealth, and in many cases both, in the residence of his adoption. Several of them, among whom may be mentioned Messrs. Poppleton, Estabrook, Woolworth, Judge Mason, Governor Thayer and Mr. Hanscom, survive to this day, either in the retirement of well-earned leisure and the enjoyment of ample fortunes, or in the prosecution of successful business.

Not one of them, however, unless he was fortunate enough to hold the office of district attorney, was probably able to support himself during the early months of his career by the practice of his profession alone. A map of the city of Omaha, prepared by Mr. Poppleton and his partner, is to this day, in the absence of any recorded plat, the only authentic memorial of its original survey that we possess. The docket of the district court shows that on the

eighteenth of July, 1857, James M. Woolworth filed in the clerk's office a book entitled 'Omaha City, the Capital of Nebraska: Its Growth, History, Commercial and Other Advantages and Future Prospects.' All of them dabbled more or less in real estate, and some, speculating extensively, laid the foundations of large gains in the not distant future. Business, however, grew and the embryo city prospered; and with the increase of wealth and population came, of course, increase of litigation.

To this increase of practice contributed in no small degree the operations of a singular and little understood organization known as the Omaha Claim club. The object of this much maligned or justly abused institution appears to have been chiefly to allow each of its members to acquire and hold three hundred and twenty acres of the virgin soil of Nebraska instead of the one hundred and sixty acres which the government permitted pre-emptors to obtain. There was, of course, under the Land laws of the United States no legal method by which this desirable end could be obtained; but the earliest settlers reasoned, and not without some show of plausibility, that they who were first in the field, who had undergone all the hardships, trials and privations incident to the foundation and establishment of a new colony in what had been a barren waste, who had made it possible for others to enjoy the privilege of securing in fee simple a portion of the public domain, should themselves have a right to something

more than those who at the eleventh hour were appropriating the fruit of their toil and anxiety. The means, however, which the pioneers adopted to protect themselves in their self-asserted rights were such as can hardly be commended by the more peaceable and law-abiding citizens of the present day. The Claim club had its regular constitution, laws, officers and records. It is extremely doubtful, however, if all the transactions of the club were recorded by its secretary. When a newcomer, with no fear before his eyes of the regulations of the society, filed in the land office of the United States his preliminary papers upon a quarter section which had already been determined by the Claim club to be the property of one of its members, he was quietly and peacefully notified that he was infringing on the rights of older settlers and claimants. If he proved refractory, and failed to take the hint so delicately conveyed, he was, by a solemn warning, given the alternative of peaceful abandonment or forcible ejection. If still contumacious, violence was resorted to; and in some instances blood was shed and serious injuries inflicted. In these conflicts the club uniformly triumphed. Its members were numerous, bold, determined and not always overscrupulous. Against them a low settler, with but few or no acquaintances or friends, could stand but little chance of success. A few immersions in the Missouri, a few conflagrations, a few shots, generally convinced the boldest that it was useless to contend against forces of such decided superiority.

But with the establishment of a settled system of jurisprudence the tide of victory began to turn. Those who left Nebraska at the behest of the club began one by one to straggle back again, and to invoke the attention of the courts to their alleged wrongs. Actions of ejectment, suits to quiet title, all the various remedies known to the law, were set in motion for the redress of outrages and the restoration of their rights. These, then, were, of course, harvest days for the disciples of Blackstone. Many an historic case fought its slow way through the different tribunals of the land office, the courts of the territory and those of the United States, and were contested with a vigor and pertinacity and at an expense which frequently left the successful litigant shorn of most, if not all, of his valuable acres, and but a barren victory to boast of. But this result was not without its exceptions. More than one wealthy resident of Omaha owes his fortune to the heroism and obstinacy with which he resisted the aggressions of his neighbors, and to the perseverance with which, if conquered for a time, he returned again and again to the conflict.

Lawsuits involving so many and varied questions as would naturally arise in such cases could not fail to educate even an ordinary bar. But the bar of Omaha in those early days was by no means an ordinary one. It was largely composed of young men from eastern or middle states, many of them of liberal education, enterprising, as was proved by their emigration to the very border of civilization, active, zeal-

ous, ambitious, shrewd, bold and fertile in resources. Self-reliant, too, they were forced to be, for at first there were but few law-books, few or no advisers of experience, and little opportunity for study. Where precedents are not to be had, the pleader must make them for himself, and he who makes his own precedents soon ceases to need them at all.

The practice, as in all newly settled western states, was largely confined to courts of justices of the peace. These officers were generally strong-headed, sensible and sometimes obstinate business men, with a sovereign contempt for the technicalities of the profession, and the tricks by which, now and then, lawyers sought to sway them against their better judgment. It was one of these who, when Pot Sullivan complained that he had decided a cause immediately upon the conclusion of the testimony and without hearing argument, offered to permit Sullivan to argue the case at once, and further proposed to bet five dollars that the lawyer couldn't change his mind by any speech he might make.

The bar of Omaha in those days did not confine their practice to their own county. On horseback or in rattling buckboards, they toiled up the muddy Valley of the Missouri to the very border of what is now the territory of Dakota. Southward, they forded the Platte, a feat that few lawyers of the present time would care to hazard, and tried cases anywhere north of the Kansas line. The dusky children of the prairie, Pawnees, Omahas, Poncas and

Otoes, crowded around the log court-houses in their gay blankets, pressed their stolid faces against the windows, and wondered at the impassioned oratory of the pale-faced advocates, so different from the guttural ejaculations of their own stoic chiefs. Barring the heat of summer, which became uncomfortable when the mercury reached over a hundred degrees, and the cold of winter, which now and then froze ears and hands, perhaps even feet and legs, and the mud of spring of unknown depth, tenacious as tar, and occasional blizzards and cyclones, which interfered with appointments, these journeys were agreeable relaxations from the monotony of home life.

So, too, were the oft-repeated trips to Washington to argue the numerous cases which went up from the courts of the territory to the supreme court of the United States. Even in that august tribunal some of the members of the Omaha bar were no mean antagonists; and though occasionally one might carry with him from the prairies some redundancy of gesture or exuberance of language, he understood his case thoroughly, and the opponent who attacked him unwarily might have cause to regret the encounter. A story long current in Omaha, and which certainly has some basis of truth, relates that a scholarly and dignified gentleman concluded his argument before the justices by asserting that he believed he had in the preparation of his case examined and studied every reported decision of either English or American courts which bore upon the question at issue. The

Omaha counsel, who opposed him, alluding to this boast, declared, with entire gravity and sincerity, that he was reminded by it of that passage of Scripture, "Whoso bloweth not his own horn, verily, verily, I say unto you, it shall not

be blown." It is said that even the stern and impassive features of Chief-Justice Taney relaxed a little at this startling and novel citation from Holy Writ.

JAMES W. SAVAGE.

[*To be continued.*]

AMERICAN HISTORY AS AFFECTED BY THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY CANOE PATHS.

NO ONE can say what channels the inevitable march or current of events might take, if the successful one had failed. So no one can certainly say, had the apparently trivial beginnings failed which led to the settlement of "Oregon"—the Oregon, meaning the vast region beyond the Rocky mountains, then in the title possession of the United States—what would have been the subsequent initiatory facts of history. But thus much is clear: Oregon was in the possession of the Hudson Bay company, to which the Englishman is ever proud to attach the name of honorable: the Honorable Hudson Bay company. The honorable is true in the sense of judicious, mercantile, money-making principles, which gave certain good to Oregon and British-American Indians. As, for example, the company's influence stopped nearly all intertribal bloodshed. It, at an advantage to the Indians, gave goods and hunting arms and ammunition to these tribes. It found out, and made passable, through British possessions and Oregon, the "canoe paths," by which a slow but sure intercommunication was

had with all parts of northern Canada, to Hudson's bay, to the Athabasca country, to the eastern base of the Rocky mountains, to McKenzie's river, to the top peaks of the Rocky mountains, to Oregon. This canoe roadway, with its various branches, is to me one of the singular facts of American history that but few comprehend. It reached from Montreal, *via* the Ottawa river, through Georgian bay and the lesser bays that, hundreds of miles long, connect with Lake Superior, to this lake, and thence skirted Lake Superior to Alexander or Thunder bay. There, by a portage of several miles, it passed inland by the series of lake and river channels to Rainy lake, Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg; thence its main channel ran northwest to the Athabasca river, and then down that river to Athabasca lake; and then on northward to the Great Slave lake, where it encountered the beginnings of Polar ice. Undaunted by cold and ice for the larger part of the year, it went still northward to McKenzie's river; down the hundreds of miles of that river, until the Polar ice sea cut off further progress.

After the days of that inimitable describer of the country and scenes of his exploration, Alexander McKenzie, on the hint of there being a river beyond the eastern ridge of the there divided Rocky mountain range, this vast canoe path went up the Rocky mountains, crossed their summits, and descended the main eastern head stream of the recently explored vast Yukon river of Alaska, and went down the Yukon to the last lower third of that river, where it crossed the hilly ridge of this river, descended another river, and reached Behring's sea of the North Pacific ocean. Thus from Montreal to the mouth of the Yukon, in Alaska, there was a water canoe path, with only comparatively short interruptions by portages for both freight and passenger canoes—an achievement worthy of the so-called "honorable" company. And were these things that I have named so far in this article all, I would mix no alloy with these descriptions of the doings of that company.

Further, the canoe road branched at Fort Chipewayan, on Athabasca lake, and went to the southwest (originally), by the Peace river, to the base of the Rocky mountains, and by another and later made canoe road, which left the main road near the "Northwest House," ascended that part of the River Athabasca above where the main road began its descent of that river, and in the direction of the Lesser Slave lake, and in connection with this lake reached the "Rocky Mountain House," or company's station, whence the climbing the Peace river up the Rocky mountains began to cross these mountains; with the singular fact that the Peace river goes to the very top of the mountains, where

within a few rods two lakes are the summits of two great canoe paths; from thence to the Pacific ocean: namely, first that by the headwaters of the Frazier river, down which the Canada railroad now passes; and, second, the headwaters of the Columbia river, making the canoe path to Oregon and the mouth of the Columbia. To these two, to the northern Pacific ocean, was afterwards added the third collateral road or canoe path—that of the Saskatchewan river. This Saskatchewan canoe path had numerous branches, for it was the one nearest United States territory, by which the Honorable British Hudson Bay company penetrated as far as possible United States territory, and, on the principle of a cat's stealing meat off of a table whenever the cat can, stole the United States fur, because we did not constantly watch our territory. Indeed, this transgression on the rights of the United States, east of the Rocky mountains, where there were not the slightest treaty rights to plunder us, was carefully and systematically done, all the way from Lake Superior to the Rocky mountains. Beyond them, treaty gave England and the United States the equal right to the fur trade; and the Honorable Hudson Bay company did us the honor, by intrigue and violence, to cheat us out of the "joint occupation" for furs of "the Oregon." As one of its sins, seen in 1835-6, the father of the writer of this article was saved from assassination only by the interposition of that man of good principles, whose influence, however, indirectly did much harm—Dr. McLaughlin of Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia river. When my father's presence and what it implied

were seen to be contrary to the "honorable" company's interest, a danger was incurred, though any and all citizens of the United States were guaranteed by treaty the right to go and trade as they pleased in Oregon.

Another branch of the great canoe path was to the western shores of Hudson bay. This was a side branch, liable to many interruptions, but for years was kept open. And still another further north, side branch of the main trunk canoe road, was that to the eastern part of Great Slave lake, and on to Back's river, and to the channels that open to the Polar sea, a few hundred miles south of Wellington channel; and by it the approach was made at intervals to the King William's Land, where Franklin's polar expedition lost its last survivors; so near, that by it, a few days' journey beyond its end, led to the ground where the last relics of the Franklin expedition were found. This canoe path, though longer than the Schwaska overland route from Matble island to King William's Land island, was safer, for the canoes could carry food supplies, while if by chance the reindeer should have left their accustomed feeding-grounds, Lieutenant Schwaska must have starved. As a side remark, the canoe path had the universal traveler's liquor transportation. But the overland expedition of Lieutenant Schwaska was, a few days after its departure, without alcoholic liquors, in the finest of health; a degree of health they lost when on their return to Hudson bay they again procured them, and were incapacitated for labor. There were canoe paths also directly northward of Alexander bay; and, indeed, all over the eastern

part of the Canadian territory, eastward of the line from south end of Hudson bay to Alexander bay, on Lake Superior. But since no such noble-minded men as Alexander McKenzie, or a traveler like Coxe, who is the best, perhaps, accessible authority on the Columbia river and Peace river canoe road to the Athabasca, Fort Chipewyan house, and thence to Lake Superior, the Ottawa and Montreal. I am unable to explain their general or specific routes, for of all secret archives are those of the Honorable Hudson Bay company.

If I can picture to the reader my estimation of the Hudson Bay company, it will be of a high, noble-minded English company of gentlemen, who on English soil were the authors and enforcers of the far-reaching diplomacy and commercial rules of this vast region, whereof the canoe roads was the vast highway, with its thousands of miles of branch roads. They stand as the finest men in integrity and perseverance and adroitness that the world ever saw. Their canoe path and its branches are unexampled in the history of the globe; and if I cannot but condemn the influence of that company, it is because all soulless corporations are as sinful and as insensible to their crimes as ever was the Hudson Bay company. To day the best of men are at the head of our railway corporations, men whose very characters of honor are beyond dispute. Yet their cars rattle by every church on the Christian Sabbath, a sinful offence to every Christian, without excuse. These men deprive their employés of a day of rest, and send them by hundreds, in consequence, to premature graves, which is a crime; they

injure by restless, ceaseless activity, the mental ability that enables telegraphic train dispatchers and engineers to run safely their cars. And so on of the abusive use of their power, in a manner totally contrary to any Golden Rule.

So these honorable gentlemen of the Hudson Bay company took thousands of boys and youth, many out of Christian homes in Scotland, and isolated them in their "houses" or fortified trade buildings, such as the Calumet house, Bellfont house, Enterprise house, etc., etc., to spend months and years in almost and often total isolation from all society except as the annual visit of the canoes, the dispatch and reception of letters and goods gave a glimmer of the outside world; as if to be in the most terrific regions of North America at the very best days of youth did not wring out of soul and body of these thousands of youth, for long and long years, their life's vigor, that they might obtain their ultimate British gold at the price usually of all that was valuable in those young men. To these youth there was no woman but the half-breed or Indian concubine. No honorable marriage. And if one like Dr. McLaughlin and others did make their concubinage marriage, and did rear children as he did his daughter, it was the exception, not the rule.

So there was no honesty that took a sea-otter pelt worth one hundred dollars for fifty cents of powder or sugar! Say what you will, the one to the ten thousand per cent. obtained out of the Indian was dishonorable and dishonest; and no English gentleman had a right to thus take advantage of the Indian.

It is in vain to say that the Indians became peaceable, dependent on a steady policy that supplied them with goods, and were taught laws of an even, constant trade, and their lives were made better. All that was honorable. But to set examples of concubinage, by all or most of the employés, was ruinous to the Indian in the end. These "honorable gentlemen" of the Hudson Bay company were Protestants originally. They sold Christ in the Reformed religion to papacy, because the Canadian boatmen or *voyageurs* were under Rome. That was not honorable. And when the right of employé to become graded members of the company, these Englishmen sold their God-given rights of English churchmen to mammon; whereas, had Englishmen been true to their God, the evangelization of the world had been far in advance of what it is. The world needs no more Papal, Spanish or South American civilization, or even French religious influence, that allows ignorance and licentiousness.

Again, there is no honor in either Englishmen or Americans when equal rights are excluded. For example, to every animal and man, oleomargarine is an essential element; and no life can be sustained in any warm-blooded being without oleomargarine; yet, our National legislation is disgraced by laws founded, as it is said, in sneers, "on the pig." That is, "on the pig," in lard and pastry, is honorable. "On the pig," when it comes in contact with the farmer's butter, is filth, horror, and to please the farmer, laws of inequality must be enacted. I do not say that laws to regulate the manufacture of oleomargarine are not wise; but a terror,

manufactured to please the butter interest, has no foundation in either legal or scientific right.

So when the Honorable Hudson Bay company taught the world, as far as it could, that all the country of their canoe-road-reached region was Russian *tundra*, and forever beyond cultivation, and by nature given up to only one product, that of fur producing, whereof the honorable gentlemen of the company were the competent and exclusive possessors, these honorable gentlemen lied, and they knew it; and for gain persisted in it to the end. When they, as history teachers, ever taught that Americans of the United States were the most dishonorable of traders, and the company only honorable, they also lied, and did it, too, systematically for years and years, even to Indians living on United States territory, so that murders resulted by the hundreds; and tribes of United States soil are yet unsafe because of these teachings of Englishmen of the company. I do not compare their diplomatic policy of Indian tradewith the majority of United States traders, for history shows a contemptible littleness and dishonesty of our traders as compared with that of these gentlemen. But the rotten spot is, that the Hudson bay gentlemen were not careful of honesty as a principle, but because their policy for years was the best for gain. Gold was the English law, not right and integrity. Integrity enforced by gold is dishonorable, even if its mask of integrity is perfect.

And when, in 1835, my father approached Oregon, there was such a grasp of this honorable company that the American Fur company dared not pass

beyond the Rocky mountains. They climbed the summits, and at the interlocking of the Sweet Water river with the Colorado river, established their summer trading camp, because, though by United States and English treaty they had a right to go at their pleasure to and through Oregon, it was death to disobey the unwritten law of these honorable gentlemen.

To this they added the lie that Oregon was a wet, cold, inhospitable, uninhabitable, worthless land, fit only for furs; its salmon fishery valueless, and no one had any rights but themselves; while by the then almost unknown channels of the canoe paths, they gloried in the deception they had wrought in violation of all the rights of others.

Yes! they let Captain Wyeth, as Bancroft of the Pacific coast says, trade beyond the death line, did they? Surely the man's not a murderer who lets his victim live while slowly poisoning him! True history shows that Captain Wyeth was permitted in southeast Oregon to trade, to the extent of an appearance of treaty observance, and then was got rid of. My father saw him, but was seeing a man there temporarily by the allowance of the company the full equal rights of the United States treaty. So of a score of others, who began trade before 1835, and were aided directly or indirectly by this honorable company to fail to establish themselves in our own territory. But my discussion and presentation of historic facts are not so much to show how even good, excellent merchants in corporations may, knowingly or unconsciously, commit great injustice, and crimes that are blasting on the interests of civilization and of humanity

and Christianity, as it is to indicate the element that used the canoe road as its implement of travel and success. If I have just reasons to say that the final opinion of mankind will be, that with the name of honorable no corporations ever existed so baneful to the interests of the world as the "Honorable Hudson Bay Company" and the "Honorable East India Company," it is because I cannot be indifferent either to the demoralization that attended the Hudson Bay company in the same manner as the English parliament saw was the influence of the Honorable East India company. And the evils of both companies are still the stumbling-blocks of the world, with this difference: those of the Hudson Bay company are nearly at an end; those of the East India company yet afflict for evil India and China.*

The canoe of these paths was fully described by Alexander McKenzie to be a boat made by lapped sheets of birch bark, fastened to a tough wood skeleton of ribs, and some three to five feet wide,

and some thirty feet long. The bark is slowly porous, hence every few days it was daubed over with the mingled turpentine and resin, as it naturally came out of various trees. The capacity of these canoes was an average of fifteen or more tons, managed by four or six men. The portages, so very frequent, required the goods of all descriptions to be made in packages of about one hundred pounds' weight. The passenger express canoes were lesser in size. The goods for the fur trade were made up in England, and in six months or a year were at Montreal. The next opening spring they were placed in the line of canoes, and dispatched up the Ottawa river, through Lakes Nipissing, Georgian, and by the chain of little lakes to Lake Superior; and, skirting the north shore of that lake, reached the Alexandria house or fort at Thunder bay. Then, perhaps, usually, the goods lay over winter, and the next season, after the ice was out of the lines of lakes, rivers and brook channels, were conveyed to the Athabasca, central region of the continent, whence they were that or the next year distributed to the whole of the vast territory between Hudson bay, the Rocky mountains and the Polar sea, north of the United States. So that often it was the third year after the goods left England that the Indians exchanged furs for them, the Yukon "houses" or fortified buildings or forts generally not receiving them until the fourth year. To do this well, by an even consistent plan, required the skill of the best mercantile gentlemen of England; and, the exceptions named on a previous page discarded, they did well this vast and long-planned scheme of trade.

* Had the policy of this company prevailed to this day there would have been no California, no settlements beyond the Rocky mountains, no Pacific railways, no boundless enterprise for the United States, no wheat-growing northwest. We should have been struggling states; poor, without influence and education. All of British America, all of "the Oregon," all of California and much of the magnificent northwest would to-day have been regarded as uninhabitable wild lands, never to be cultivated. And let me say that in 1835-6-7 missionaries, of which my father was one, broke the "honorable" company's spell and began the vast onward of the whole of this territory they then ruled with a rod of iron. It was the sin of these Hudson Bay and India *honorable* companies that they knew only *trade*, and did nothing for humanity, education, civilization or religion, and this with a greed that is indescribable.

But this article is too long. I have intimated that my father, as one of the pioneers of Oregon, led me to the study of canoe paths, the details of which are very interesting to me, but require a volume beyond the pages these occupy. Yet I hope I have demonstrated the

historic fact and influence of the canoe roads over a territory much larger than all the United States, and hinted at its influence on even our own western and northwestern history.

SAMUEL J. PARKER, M. D.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE history of the Prohibition National party, commenced in this issue, is specially commended, from the fact that it has been prepared by George L. Case of Cleveland, one of the leaders of that party, who has been gathering for years the material of which he is now making use. It is a plain and interesting statement of a movement that must be regarded as important, even though one has no sympathy with the political principles of which it is the exponent.

At the regular quarterly meeting of the Chicago Historical society, held on Tuesday, October 8, it was reported by Secretary John Moses, that the accessions to the library during the last quarter were 199 volumes and 152 pamphlets, of which but two were purchased. Among the 197 volumes donated are included 104 of public documents, of which 25 relate to the United States, including a costly geological and mineralogical atlas of Leadville; 60, consisting of laws and reports, to Vermont; and 20 to Kansas. For three of the most valuable works presented, the society is indebted to the Smithsonian institute, namely, 'Archives of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro,' 'Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada' and 'Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.' The society is also indebted to Mrs. Dr. Levi D. Boone for the gift of a set of bank-notes issued by the Bank of Edwardsville in 1819-20, of which bank her father, Judge Theophilus W. Smith, whose portrait hangs on our walls, was once the cashier. They are handsomely framed, and are supposed to be the only complete collection of the issue extant.

At the recent monthly meeting of the Oneida Historical society of Utica, New York, a step forward was taken by the offering of the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The library of the society is growing most rapidly in bound volumes, magazines, pamphlets, manuscripts, newspapers—all of great historical value; and,

"WHEREAS, The shelving room, so kindly placed at the society's disposal by the courtesy of the commissioners of education of this city, is now more than occupied, and much printed matter can not be made accessible; and,

"WHEREAS, Many of the donations given are maps, portraits, curios, relics, etc., which can neither be displayed nor properly cared for; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to consider the expediency of securing some permanent building adapted to the present need of the society, and provide for its future possessions."

After some discussion, President Roberts stated that the society has a sum—not a large one—on deposit already, pledged to the erection of a building. Outside of the county, he said, the society is credited with doing good work, and the idea has been growing that it needs greater facilities. The real question is whether the community appreciates the work of the society sufficiently to aid it in securing a permanent home. The work of the society speaks for itself. The monuments erected under its auspices are the outward signs of good work done in preserving the history of Oneida county and the Mohawk valley for the state and the Nation. If the people do not already appreciate the work done by the society, it is only necessary to wait, for it is certain that sooner or later it will impress the community so that a suitable home will be provided for it. Mr. Roberts decidedly favored the adoption of the resolution. The resolution was adopted unanimously. President Roberts appointed the following gentlemen on the committee: William M. White, C. W.

Darling, Honorable C. W. Hutchinson, R. S. Williams and J. M. Childs. In answer to an inquiry the president stated that invitations had been given to a number of gentlemen to prepare papers on the early settlers of the different nationalities in the Mohawk valley. J. C. Schreiber has promised a paper on German settlers, and at the next meeting of the society Rev. Erasmus W. Jones will read a paper on "The Early Welsh Settlers of the Mohawk Valley." The annual address on the second Tuesday in January will be given by Dr. Willis J. Beecher of Auburn Theological seminary.

THE collection of tariff literature on the shelves of the Wisconsin State Historical society's library is by all means the largest in the west. It embraces both foreign and American publications, on both sides of the great question; and no important book or pamphlet on the subject, issued during this year or the last ten, is missing. Secretary Thwaites has also been particularly successful in gathering the general literature of the present campaign—Republican, Democratic and Prohibition; this he will have neatly bound up in volumes, indexed and catalogued, for future reference. It has been a campaign prolific in literary efforts, and in future years this great mass of books, pamphlets and leaflets will be studied with profit by historians and politicians. The secretary has done well to make his invaluable collection before election, for these ephemeral political publications, that will be so full of suggestions and striking lessons for future students of our economic history, will be scarce enough in another fortnight, and rarities at the close of the year; it is astonishing how quickly such editions are lost sight of after the date of issue. This collection is one of the many evidences that the State Historical library is being kept well abreast of the times.

GENERAL C. W. DARLING, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical society at Utica, New York, has been making an effort to ascertain why certain states in the Union

have no mottoes. The answers to his communications as they come in from various sources are as follows:

The governor of the state of New Hampshire says he does not know and has no means of finding out the reason why.

The secretary of the state of North Carolina says that it is the habit of that state to illustrate her ideas by actions rather than by words, and that the use of such mottoes does not accord with her ideas of the purest heraldic taste.

The governor of Indiana, through his private secretary, says that the reason is unknown to him.

The governor of Texas writes that to answer this question would require a knowledge of the motives, views and intentions of every congress that met in the Republic, and of every legislature since it has been a state. He adds: "If I should guess at it I would say that Texas has not been poetically inclined, and that while she has never adopted by law any motto, she has had one since the fall of the Alamo, to-wit: 'Be sure you are right, then go ahead.'"

The governor of Alabama intimates that he does not know why his state has not adopted a motto if "Here we rest" is not such.

Tennessee, through the corresponding secretary of the Tennessee Historical society, writes that in the Great Seal of the state are the words "Commerce and Agriculture," and those words may be supposed to take the place of a state motto.

A. A. Graham, corresponding secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological society, reports thus for Ohio: "In 1803 the general assembly passed an act relative to a state seal, and therein was described the device to be used upon it; also placing thereon the motto, '*Imperium in Imperio*.'" In 1868 the general assembly passed an act restoring the seal of 1803, and omitting the motto. The proceedings of the house do not show why these changes were made; they merely show the motions, amendments, votes, etc., but as no debates were published, no reasons appear.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

THE CELEBRATED INDIAN WALK IN PENNSYLVANIA.

In the September number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY I notice an article under the above heading signed "R. E.," which appears to have been based on 'An Inquiry Into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and the Shawanese from the British Interest, and Into the Measures Taken for Recovering Their Friendship.' London, 1759, 184 pp., 12mo., with a map. It is now regarded as a rare work, of which Charles Thomson is the author, who died near Philadelphia in 1824, at the advanced age of ninety years. In the beginning of the aforesaid communication the writer states, "I know of no current work in which all the details can be found grouped together." In consequence I take the liberty to mention that a 'History of the Indian Walk as Performed by Order of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1737, to which is appended a Life of Edward Marshall, by William J. Buck,' was published in Philadelphia in the fall of 1886, making a neat 12mo. of 269

pages. An edition of only 210 copies was issued at the expense of the author. On inquiry I ascertain that a few copies may yet be obtained at Leary's bookstore corner of Ninth and Market streets, said city, sent post-paid on receipt of \$2.00. It can be secured nowhere else.

Mr. Buck is the author of numerous other works and one of the most active workers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who had the arranging of the extensive Penn Papers, purchased in London, in 1871, at a cost of nearly \$4,000. From this latter source and the descendants of Edward Marshall, the hero of the walk, he chiefly secured his information, having commenced thereon as long ago as 1852. This work shows from conclusive evidence that the walk was a greater outrage upon the Indians than had heretofore been supposed, which is all satisfactorily explained and substantiated by documents of said period, that had heretofore, in this country, not been accessible. It also contains biographical sketches of all the principal characters that figured therein. Thomas Penn and William Allen were the chief promoters of this nefarious transaction and whom it most benefited.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'INCIDENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR DURING THE FOUR YEARS OF ITS PROGRESS.' By Mary A. Hedrick of Lowell, Massachusetts.

This book is destined to become a rare and valuable possession. It was compiled by Mrs. Mary A. Hedrick of Lowell, who, during the Rebellion, clipped copious extracts from the journals of the day, concerning the progress of events. While it covers matters of interest in all parts of the country, it is naturally more especially rich in allusions to Lowell troops, General Butler, etc. The frontispiece is a large, full-page reproduction of a photograph, taken from life, of the Richardson Light In-

fantry of Lowell, afterwards the Massachusetts Seventh battery. It has been well called a curious compilation, possessing more both of interest and of value than could have been supposed when it was being made. The volume is made up of selections from the scrap-book into which the compiler pasted newspaper reports and clippings during the years of the war. They are reproduced now with little attempt at arrangement, except by order of time, in the same manner, and even with the same head-lines that were first used. They comprise reports of battles, editorials, letters of correspondents, bits of war songs, and other inci-

dents and episodes of the great contest. Turning over these pages now has a curious effect upon the mind, for it seems to carry us back to the very days when these momentous events were taking place. There are several illustrations, and some interesting fac-similes of the envelopes used in war time, etc. Altogether, this is an unique addition to the literature of the war. Another writer says: "It is one of the most interesting memorials of the war that could be had, and would give one a better idea of affairs as they transpired from day to day, and of the state of feeling at the front while the war was going on, than could be obtained in any other way. It is a very valuable contribution to the history of the great crisis of our National existence." Those who desire this unique work should address George Hedrick, 36 Central street, Lowell, Massachusetts.

'THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: ITS POLITICAL HISTORY AND INFLUENCE.' By Professor J. H. Patton, author of 'A Concise History of the American People,' 'How We are Governed,' 'Natural Resources of the United States,' etc. Published by Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

Professor Patton's carefully prepared and admirably arranged history of the Democratic party has been revised and brought down to the year 1888, making it the most recent, as it is the ablest and fairest, history of one of our great National organizations that now exists. While the oldest of these party organizations, the Democratic, is the basis of the work, its chief rivals, the Federal, the Whig and the Republican, are carefully and fairly examined, and the purpose and work of each plainly stated. The work, therefore, becomes a concise history of American politics, as all the important political events and measures are here arranged under their headings; and the thoughtful reader cannot help finding himself well informed on the political, moral, financial and industrial questions of the day. The author has aimed to be fair in his treatment of a difficult theme, pointing out the good the Democratic party has done, and giving it credit

therefor; and pointing out its errors, for which he has held the party to the strictest accountability. For the Democrat who would know why he is such, and the Republican why he is not; for the political and historical student; and for the general reader who would seek light upon an important theme, the book is of unquestioned value, and should be carefully perused.

'HOMESTEAD HIGHWAYS.' By Herbert Milton Sylvester, author of 'Prose Pastorals.' Published by Ticknor & Company, Boston.

The readers of 'Prose Pastorals' will need no inducement to the perusal of this volume, as they bear in mind the healthful thoughts, the charming methods of discussion and the picturesque descriptions that come with such easy grace from Mr. Sylvester's pen. The field in which he works in this instance is one especially his own; and the author touches a pleasant chord of memory when he says: "Nature is the mother of sentiment, and to multitudes of people nothing is more charming in its reminiscent quality than the old New England country life. Away from its quiet homesteads and tree-shadowed highways, into the noisy, crowded ruts of the city, the awakened memories of its old-fashioned and simple habits, its plain fare, its open-handed hospitality, are like beautiful pictures swept clear of years of dust and cobwebs. A boyhood or a girlhood laid among such pastoral scenes is the halcyon period of a life-time. Of such, among the fields, the woods, the meadows and streams, my book is in part a suggestion."

The themes treated are suggestive read only by title: "A Mute Prophecy," "An Old-Fashioned Festival," "A Winter Resort," "Running Water," "A Snug Corner," "A Wayside Watering Place," "A Drop of Rain." The touches of home-life and nature, of love and memory, and of that subtle knowledge that shows a long and loving study of the theme, are found upon every page of 'Homestead Highways,' and carry the most careless and the most absorbed in the work of the present back into the quiet of childhood and country days.

'MARTIN VAN BUREN.' By Edward M. Shepard. In American Statesman series. Edited by John T. Morse, jr. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.' By Theodore Roosevelt. In same series as above. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Received from Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

We have had occasion heretofore to speak of the great care and admirable judgment displayed in the selection of subjects and writers for this series of American statesmen that the enterprise of this great publishing house is giving to the world, and in the volumes above cited are furnished fresh proofs that the series is to be held up to the high level of literary and historical worth upon which it was commenced. Mr. Shepard needs no introduction to the reading public, nor does Mr. Roosevelt. The subjects of which they write were representative men of their times, Van Buren reaching the highest place within the gift of the people, while Morris stood in the front rank of that group of remarkable men produced in the heat and fervor of Revolutionary times. The treatment followed in this series has been varied somewhat from the dull routine of too much historical work, and the result is a gain in interest, while there is no loss in the direction of solid and necessary information.

'TAKEN BY THE ENEMY.' By Oliver Optic, author of 'The Army and Navy Series,' 'Young America Abroad,' 'The Boat Club Series,' etc. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'A START IN LIFE: A STORY OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY.' By J. T. Trowbridge. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'LITTLE MISS WEEZY'S BROTHER.' By Penn Shirley, author of 'Little Miss Weezy,' etc. Published by Lee & Shepard. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

The three volumes above mentioned are so many more added to the long list of healthful juvenile works that Lee & Shepard have furnished the young people of America—works that are free from harm, instructive and moral,

while full of life and action. Optic and Trowbridge are known, and as a general thing are safe to place in the hands of the young. We can cheerfully commend the above, especially to those who are looking about with a view to holiday purchases.

'THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.' By Rev. James Starker, M. A. Published by the American Tract Society, New York.

Viewed either as a man engaged in fierce pursuit of one whom he regarded as an impostor and an enemy to the Jewish religion, or as a brave and devoted follower of the man whom he had persecuted, Saul of Tarsus is a figure of grand historic proportions, and when rationally treated, his life is one of deep human as well as spiritual interest. Mr. Starker has produced the most interesting, perhaps because brief, life of Paul that we have seen since Conybeare and Howson's work was given to the public some years ago. The plan he has followed in the work is outlined in his chapter headings: Paul's place in history; his unconscious preparation for his work; his conversion; his gospel; the work awaiting the worker; his missionary travels; his writings and his character; picture of a Pauline church; his great controversy; the end. The work concludes with a valuable series of hints to teachers and questions for Bible students.

'MANUAL OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.' By Israel Ward Andrews, D. D., LL. D. Published by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., Cincinnati and New York.

While this work grew out of the necessities of the school-room, it is one that covers the field so thoroughly and ably that the general historical student will find it an authority upon all the points of its great theme, and is exhaustive and complete. It is an historical and philosophical analysis of the Constitution, taking it up section by section and giving a history of the government from the earliest day to the present, and in addition thereto furnishes many important facts of historical interest that elucidate and illustrate the theme. Dr. Andrews was a student, historian and teacher,

and the preparation of a work of this character could have been committed to no more competent hands.

'HONORABLE UNCLE SAM.' By Viscount Valrose. Published by John Delay, 816 Broadway, New York.

From the sharp thrusts and keen-edged statements found in this exhilarating work, there are many who suppose that "Viscount Valrose" is a hidden member of the nation whose leaders and leading characteristics are so well hit off. Be that as it may, the sharp, pungent, paragraphic descriptions of our authors, editors, statesmen and politicians, form one of the most taking works of the day; by no means a satire, nor so intended, but a sarcastic statement of some, at times unpleasant, truths.

'A HISTORY OF OHIO: WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF HER GOVERNORS AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.' By Daniel J. Ryan. Published by A. H. Smythe, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Ryan has chosen a timely season for the presentation to the public of the work upon which he has been so long and carefully engaged, for in this year of Ohio's centennial all that pertains to its past is of unusual value and interest. The story of the foundation and growth of our state is very clearly and fully told, and a vast amount of information has been collected into a little space. The line of relation is somewhat new, in that all the lines of state development are taken up, and many facts related that are not usually found in a work of this character. Mr. Ryan is a clear and terse writer, and is sure to hold the attention of even the careless reader.

'FIGHTING PHIL: THE LIFE AND MILITARY CAREER OF PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN, GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.' By Rev. P. C. Headley, author of *Lives of Grant, Sherman, Mitchel, Lafayette, etc.*, etc. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

Mr. Headley is an author of established reputation, and has made a special biographical study of the heroes of the Rebellion, the lives

of many of whom he has placed upon record. In the character of the famous cavalry leader who has so recently passed away, he has found a congenial theme, and has produced a work of exceptional interest for the youth, for whom it was the more especially intended. Graphic and full of life, he yet holds his narration to strict historical truth, and has painted the great general in such colors as his career deserved. The work is accompanied by a number of engravings and illustrative maps.

'DAYS SERENE,' illustrated from the original designs of Margaret MacDonald Pullman. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

'A CHRISTMAS CAROL.' By Dinah Maria Mulock. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

'A FRIEND STANDS AT THE DOOR.' 'A PSALM FOR NEW YEAR'S EVE.' By Dinah Maria Mulock. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

'ALL AROUND THE YEAR.' By J. Pauline Sunter. Published by Lee & Shepard. Received from the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

In 'Days Serene,' and, in fact, in the smaller of the works mentioned in connection with it, the artist and the poet have met to complete each other. In that first mentioned, illustrations are by Margaret MacDonald Pullman, and have been engraved by George T. Andrew, and printed under his direction—sufficient guarantee of their excellence. The book is a royal oblong quarto, with emblematic cover, and contains twenty-six full-page original illustrations. The pleasure of an examination of the work, which the title happily anticipates, is continually enhanced, until the last page has given the eye and the mind actual delight. Beautiful landscape scenery—the grand and picturesque in nature—has been photographed, as it were, upon these charming pages by this student of nature and new competitor for artistic honors. Down by the sea, as its billows pound the rocks and the shore; on the side of the mountain, with its appealing grandeur; in the midst of forests; in the blooming meadow, and beside playful streams, has this lover of nature wandered that she

might transcribe the enchanting pictures for the pleasure of the multitude. There is evidence in this artist's work that her conceptions of nature are mellowed by a gentle sympathy with her beautiful subjects. The poetic selections—the choice thought of some of our favorite poets—which are associated with this artistic production, still further and forcefully appeal to “the better angels of our nature.” The book's magnificent proportions, rich binding, creamy paper and handsome letter-press make it deservedly a choice art volume. No more attractive specimens of holiday book-making can be named than the gems contained in the above list.

‘AROUND THE WORLD ON A BICYCLE: FROM TEHERAN TO YOKOHAMA.’ Vol. II. By Thomas Stevens. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

The thousands who followed this dauntless rider of a steed of steel across the American continent, through Europe and into Asia, and left him enjoying the semi-barbaric hospitality of Persia, have awaited this continuation of his great trip with the most vivid interest; and volume second well repays the waiting, and fulfills the most eager expectation. This half of his journey lies through the wild and unknown lands of eastern Asia, and much of the story told is as new to the great body of readers as was the country to Mr. Stevens himself. It is a story of danger and at times of suffering, modestly told, and carrying with it in every line the simple stamp of truth. The keen eye of the traveler was as active as his swift revolving wheel, and thousands of little touches of life and nature are caught up in such manner as to give the reader a most vivid idea of the lands described. With that purpose of making their works perfect in all respects that is a characteristic of the Scribners, the illustrations are almost without number, and cover almost every feature upon which Mr. Stevens touches. The information with which every page of these two volumes abounds is a marked feature of the work, making it invaluable aside from

all that exciting interest which attaches to his experiences by the way.

‘THE RUSSIAN PEASANTRY: THEIR AGRARIAN CONDITION, SOCIAL LIFE AND RELIGION.’ By Stepniak, author of ‘Russia Under the Tsars,’ ‘The Russian Storm-Cloud,’ etc. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

The talented patriot whose name accompanies the above work, and who has been driven into exile because he would speak the truth and utter his convictions, has had much to say of his country, and so says it that it carries conviction of his earnestness and truth, and lays Russia bare before us in all its want and misery and suffering. In this latest book he has discussed and made plain many things of which we have had little knowledge before—the land question, the moujiks and the Russian democracy, paternal government, hard times, popular religion, rationalistic dissent, modern sectarianism, etc. He has, to use his own words, “tried to show as briefly and as fully as possible the main features and the bearings of this double process of growth and decay now to be observed within our rural classes.” “For the present generation the study of popular life has acquired an exceptional interest and importance, as the manifold influences of the new times have wrought a general downfall of the very basis of rural life. Russian peasants are passing through an actual crisis—economical, social and religious—and the future of our country depends upon its solution.”

Stepniak does not merely argue and moralize in these pages; he makes them glow with a graphic and at times terrible statement of actual facts that speak with more convincing power than all the logic he might employ. He shows us Russia as it is, and the picture is full of deep shadows, of wrongs that seem to grow greater and can never be avenged, of a misery that cries out to heaven for mercy. He brings his country before the bar of the world for judgment, and his case is strong not only with the outrages of the past but the increased burdens and indignities of the present.

'NEGRO MYTHS FROM THE GEORGIA COAST: TOLD IN THE VERNACULAR.' By Charles C. Jones, jr., LL. D. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston. Received from the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

This little work is in a line of American folklore but recently opened. The delightful "Uncle Remus" stories, by Mr. Joel Chandler Harris, are but a small part of those quaint stories handed down by tradition from generation to generation among the Negroes of the southern states. Colonel Jones, who has gained no little reputation by his 'History of Georgia,' has gathered a volume of these, and, in explanation of its special claim to attention, says: "There is a field largely untrodden in which may be found ample opportunity for the exhibition of kindred inquiry and humor. We refer to the swamp regions of Georgia and the Carolinas, where the lingo of the rice-field and the sea-island Negroes is *sui generis*, and where myths and fanciful stories, often repeated before the war, and now seldom heard save during the gayer moods of the old plantation darkies, materially differ from those narrated by the sable dwellers in the interior." Some idea of dialect and scope of the myths can be gained from these suggestive titles:

"How come Buh (Brother) Alligatur nebber sleep fur from de ribber bank," "Buh Wolf, Buh Rabbit, and de Tar-Baby," "Buh Tukrey Buzzud an de King-Crab," "De ole Man an de Gallinipper," "Buh Wolf and de two Dinner," "Buh Monkey and de Bulldog," "Buh Elephant and Buh Rooster," "De Po Man an de Snake," "Leely Gal, Buh Alligatur, an de Jay-Bud," "Buh Wolf, Buh Rabbit, and de Butter," "De ole Man an Det."

'THE BRITISH INVASION FROM THE NORTH. THE CAMPAIGNS OF GENERALS CARLETON AND BURGOYNE FROM CANADA, 1776-1777, WITH THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT WILLIAM DIGBY OF THE 53RD, OR SHROPSHIRE, REGIMENT OF FOOT, ILLUSTRATED WITH HISTORICAL NOTES.' By James Phinney Baxter, A. M. Published by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, New York.

The history-loving portion of America owes

Mr. Baxter a debt of gratitude, not merely for having discovered the journal of Lieutenant Digby in the British Museum but also for making it possible that it should see the light of print; and also to the Munsells for having made so fine and valuable a volume of the material prepared. Mr. Baxter, in the opening portions of the volume, gives us a clear and interesting account of the campaigns of Carleton and Burgoyne, with which are accompanying notes of great value. Of the causes by which he came to prosecute the work, Mr. Baxter says: "While engaged during the fall and winter of 1885-6 in examining manuscripts in English archives relative to America, a journal in the British Museum, written by William Digby, an officer in the Army of Invasion, and containing interesting particulars relative to the two campaigns of 1776 and 1777, attracted my attention, and I obtained permission from the museum authorities to have it copied. Having familiarized myself with the journal, I became so interested in it that I laid aside other work in which I was engaged and began collecting material for annotating it. The work led to a study of the subject of which the journal treats but partially, and, to complete my task properly, a succinct account of the two campaigns and of questions growing out of them connected with the hero of the final and more important one—General Burgoyne—seemed necessary as introductory to Digby's work; hence my account of the campaigns of Carleton and Burgoyne."

The journal covers nearly three hundred pages of the large volume of which it is the main part, and sheds a flood of light upon the campaigns of the year named. It is an addition to Revolutionary history as valuable as it is unexpected, and with the copious notes of Mr. Baxter makes a welcome side light of American history. A number of portraits and other illustrations are also presented. Only a limited edition has been printed, for subscribers mostly, the price of the book being placed at five dollars. We hope that the call for it will be so great that the Munsells will be compelled to issue an edition for the trade.

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J. S. T. Strachan

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THE WESTERN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

THE Western Library association, or, as it is sometimes, in half-derision, called in later years, the "Coonskin Library," was originated in 1801, in what is now Ames township, in this (Athens) county. The first settlement in what is now the state of Ohio was at Marietta, in 1788, and most of the originators and founders of the library were an offshoot from that settlement.

As early as 1795, just after the close of the Indian war, a temporary road was cut through the then wilderness from the Muskingum river to Federal creek—a stream so named because it has thirteen branches, corresponding in number with the then thirteen United States. Through this wilderness path, on foot and on horseback, or in canoes by the circuitous route of the Ohio and

Hockhocking rivers and Federal creek, the sturdy pioneers found their way to the valley of the creek, and there formed the settlement now known as Ames township. The settlement was some twelve miles east of the town of Athens, the county-seat, where a settlement had been begun about a year previously. The settlers in Ames found themselves in the midst of a dense wilderness untouched by the hand of man, and untrodden save by the foot of the savage and the wild beast. The forest, however, was underlaid by a rich and productive soil, and abounded in almost every variety of game; and it was upon this soil and game, almost alone, that the hardy pioneers had to depend for a scanty subsistence. They were almost utterly without the con-

veniences and comforts of civilized life. No roads, no mills, no lumber, no houses, no money, no schools, no newspapers, no mails, no coaches. An axe, a hoe and a rude wooden plough constituted their agricultural implements. A gun and a shot-pouch were their almost daily companions, and with these they killed the animals which supplied them with daily food, and to some extent with clothing. "Traces of the elk and buffalo were yet to be seen, and deer, bears, turkeys, quails, pheasants, raccoons and squirrels were found in great abundance. Panthers, wolves and wild-cats were also numerous, and for a long time were a source of annoyance and danger."

After several visits to the proposed place of settlement, in March, 1798, Mr. George Ewing brought his family out, and settled on what is now known as the Gardner farm. It was nearly a year later that Judge Ephraim Cutler and Captain Benjamin Brown brought their families over from Waterford, on the Muskingum. "The domestic effects and portable property of the two families were loaded into canoes, and sent, in charge of Captain Brown, down the Muskingum and Ohio rivers to the mouth of the Hockhocking, and up the latter stream to the mouth of Federal creek." The women and children, on horseback, were conducted by Mr. Cutler along the wilderness path over the hills to their new home. In a narrative written subsequently by Mr. Cutler, he thus speaks of this journey: "I, with four horses, took Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Cutler and all our children, to

go twenty miles through an entire wilderness to our home. Night overtook us before we were able to cross Sharp's fork of Federal creek, and we were obliged to encamp. We experienced a very rainy night. The creek in the morning was rapidly rising. I hurried, got Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Cutler and the children, with the baggage and horses, over the creek, all except A. G. Brown (Judge Brown of Athens), then a child three or four years old, whom I took in my arms; and as I stepped on a drift of flood-wood, which reached across the creek, it broke away from the bank. We were in danger, but a gracious Providence preserved us, and we got safely across. We arrived at our camp, where we afterwards built our cabin, May 7, 1799.

In May, 1800, Silvanus Ames, afterwards known as Judge Ames, came with his family, and settled near Mr. Cutler, on the farm which he occupied till 1823, the date of his death.

Deacon Joshua Wyatt, with his family, came about the same time. Others followed, many, or most of them, from that "jailer of a daring heart," the "Marietta Stockade." All, or most of these, bore a large part in the early history of "Amestown." "Their wives too," says the author of the 'History of Athens County;' "were persons of solid minds and superior culture." "The writer remembers," says the same author, "to have heard Mrs. Ames, who had been tenderly reared in the family of a New England clergyman, . . . describe the hardships of her tedious journey from Massachusetts to Ohio,

in the year 1799, which she made all the way on horseback, carrying an infant in her arms." Of a like nature were the hardships endured and the indomitable courage manifested by most of the emigrants.

Under such circumstances, one would think, there could be but little time or energy left for the greater work of providing for the wants of their higher nature. In such cases men are too apt to be busied about "many things," and to forget the "one thing needful." Patriotism, morality and education are too apt to be lost sight of, and, as it were, crushed out by the material necessities of the hour. Not so with these hardy pioneers. They seemed to realize that they were founding an empire. Their prophetic vision seems to have foreseen the present greatness of the northwest, and to have realized the fact that its future, at least to some extent, would depend upon their action. They seemed to realize that they were engaged in laying one of the foundation stones on which the great states of the Northwest territory were to be erected—that they were making history, to be read with profit by posterity—that a little taper light to be kindled by them in this obscure pioneer settlement would, in time, unite with other lights and illuminate the great northwest. They apparently acted under an inspiration like that of the poet who describes the night ride of Paul Revere, rallying his neighbors to the battle of Concord. . . .

"And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat."

As has already been said, the Library association was originated and provision made for the purchase of books in 1801, but the first installment of books was not procured till 1803, when the association was duly formulated and the stock taken by the members. There was great difficulty in procuring funds with which to purchase the books. "Some of the settlers," says the author of 'Walker's History of Athens County,' "were good hunters, and, there being a ready market for furs and skins, which were bought by the agents of John Jacob Astor and others, these easily paid their subscriptions. Mr. Samuel Brown, who was soon to make a trip to Boston in a wagon, would take the furs and skins intended for the purchase of books, and bring back the books in return. His trip was unavoidably delayed longer than he expected, but in the summer of 1803 he went to Boston with the furs, etc., with which he purchased the first installment of books. These books cost seventy-three dollars and fifty cents, and comprised the following: Robertson's North America; Harris' Encyclopædia, four volumes; Morse's Geography, two volumes; Adams' Truth of Religion; Goldsmith's Works, four volumes; Evelina, two volumes; Children of the Abbey, two volumes; Blair's Lectures; Clark's Discourses; Ramsey's American Revolution, two volumes; Goldsmith's Animated Nature, four volumes; Playfair's History of Jacobinism, two volumes; George Barnwell; Camilla, three volumes; Beggar Girl, three volumes, and some

others. Later purchases included Shakespeare, Don Quixote, Lock's Essays, Scottish Chiefs, Josephus, Smith's Wealth of Nations, Spectator, Plutarch's Lives, Arabian Nights, Life of Washington, etc.

On the second of February, 1804, at the house of Christopher Herrold, articles of association were regularly entered into for the government of the Library association. The amount of a share was fixed at two dollars and fifty cents, and the owner was required to pay in for the use of the library twenty-five cents additional every year on each share. The names of the subscribers to the articles of association, with the number of shares taken by each, were as follows: Ephraim Cutler, four shares; Jason Rice, two; Silvanus Ames, two; Benjamin L. Brown, one; Martin Boyles, one; Ezra Green, one; George Ewing, one; John Brown, jr., one; Josiah True, one; George Ewing, jr., one; Daniel Weethee, two; Timothy Wilkins, two; Benjamin Brown, one; Samuel Brown, second, one; Samuel Brown, sr., one; Simon Converse, one; Christopher Herrold, one; Edmund Dorr, one; George Wolf, one; Nathan Woodbury, one; Joshua Wyatt, one; George Walker, one; Elijah Hatch, one; Zebulon Griffin, one; Jehiel Gregory, one; George Castle, one; Samuel Brown, one. Among the subscribers in later years appear the names of Ezra Walker, Othniel Nye, Sally Rice, Lucy Ames, John M. Hibbard, Seth Child, Ebenezer Champlin, Amos Linscott, Elisha Lattimer, Nehemiah Gregory, Thomas Ewing, Jason Rice,

Cyrus Tuttle, Pearly Brown, Robert Fulton, R. S. Lovell, Michael Tippie and James Pugsley.

The library has long since ceased to exist as such, and has been succeeded by other more modern sources of information. The charter of the association, granted by the Ohio legislature in 1810, has expired by non-user. The books had accumulated to several hundred volumes—a considerable library for the place and period. Many years later it was divided and part taken to Dover township (where some of the original stockholders lived), where it formed the nucleus of another library, which was incorporated by act of the legislature, passed December 21, 1830.

The portion retained in Ames township was sold by the shareholders in the year 1860 or 1861 to Messrs. J. H. Glazier, A. W. Glazier and E. H. Brawley, and they afterwards sold it to Honorable W. P. Cutler of Washington county.

It is to be hoped that an effort may be made to redeem these old historic books, such of them as can be found, and place them in proper form in some secure public place. The worm-eaten and dilapidated volumes are intrinsically of little value, but they are priceless as mementos of the past. Who would not desire to see the identical volumes read and re-read by Thomas Ewing, Bishop Ames and their associates, and from which they formed their style, and from which they drew their first inspirations? The marks of their fingers and their notations in the margin are still to be seen upon them. The eyes that scanned

them and the hands that turned their pages are mouldering in the dust, but memory can recall them in all their youthful vigor and life. Let the effort be made.

The simple history of this unpretending Library association is sufficient to challenge the admiration and homage of every true American. It was one of the springs which have made up the great ocean of our State and National prosperity. These pioneers came to their chosen place of abode full of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, of the Ordinance of 1787 and of the Constitution, which embodied them both. Their descendants are now counted by the hundreds, and are to be found in almost all parts of the country, and especially in the states of the Northwest territory. Their proselytes—that term may be so applied—can be counted by the thousands; and no human arithmetic can correctly estimate the influence they may have exerted in shaping the destiny of the country. We are told that “every natural fact is a symbol of some spiritual fact, and, that as motion is propagated throughout all space, and endures through all time, so each action of the mind of man affects the spiritual universe;” that “thus the spirit of the age is the sum of individual thoughts, and that each man is to some extent the product of all the preceding ages of the race.” If this be true, what an incentive to virtue and the advancement of knowledge! The subjects of this memorial seem to have believed in its truth. They stand before the world as men and women

who lived for others, and not for themselves. They made duty their supreme rule of action, and the love of duty their governing motive. They lived for the future, rather than for the present. They trampled their own selfish propensities under foot, and made of them stepping-stones to a higher and nobler life. They were self-sacrificing, conscientious men—

“ combating
Because they ought to combat;
Conscious that to find in martyrdom
The stamp and signet of a noble life,
Is all the science that mankind can reach.”

It is to such men that the world is debtor for whatever is truly good and great in human affairs, and to such that we must look for our upward march in the future. The lives of these patriots are a lesson—a lesson that cannot be studied without profit. They teach us not to despise the day of small things. They teach us simplicity of life and the honorableness of labor, and are, in these respects, in startling contrast with the luxury and extravagance of the present age. But, above all, they teach us the value of a life well spent. Their lives, like the lives of all good men, remind us—

“We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.”

This library is one of the footprints of these pioneers.

It will hardly be considered invidious to single out the names of some of the more prominent among these men, and speak of them individually. In doing so, however, it must be said that, with no great number of exceptions, they

were all men of high character for intelligence, morality and patriotism, and that many of them were distinguished by civil and military services in the country.

George Ewing was a native of Salem, New Jersey. He entered the Continental army at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and served with credit as lieutenant during its whole course. He was the father of the late Honorable Thomas Ewing, the eminent jurist and statesman, who stood at the head of the Ohio bar for half a century, and who made his mark in the senate of the United States, and in the cabinet.

Silvanus Ames was the father of the late Bishop Ames, a magnate and ardent worker in that church, the Methodist Episcopal, which has, perhaps, done more to promote civilization and morality in the pioneer settlements of the northwest than any other agency whatever.

Benjamin Brown was a captain in the Army of the Revolution; was engaged in the battle of Bunker's Hill, and served in the army to the end of the war. He was the father of Honorable A. G. Brown of Athens, a graduate of the Ohio university, now in his eighty-fifth year, late a judge of the court of common pleas, and a member of the convention which framed the present constitution of Ohio. Benjamin Brown was also the father of the late General John Brown, for many years a prominent citizen of Athens, who died March 29, 1876, in his ninety-first year, respected and beloved by all who knew him.

But a new phase of the history of this library is opened up when we come to mention the name of Ephraim Cutler, who seems to have been the owner of most of the land on which the settlement was made, and to have been a leading spirit in the enterprise. He was a member of the convention which framed the Ohio constitution of 1802, and his son, the present William P. Cutler of Marietta, was a member of the convention which framed our present Ohio constitution.

Ephraim Cutler was the son of Dr. Manasseh Cutler of Ipswich, Massachusetts, a leading spirit among the originators of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest territory, and of the Ohio company, which purchased this part of the territory. No history of the Amestown library, or of any other library in the northwest, would be complete without something of the history of Dr. Manasseh Cutler. The very mention of his name carries the real history of the library back to a period antedating the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of the United States. The Library association was but an outgrowth of that ordinance—a step taken to carry its wise and beneficial purposes into execution. That ordinance, the cession by Virginia, the purchase by the Ohio company, and the formation in the territories of libraries like this, are one in spirit and conception equally as Pharaoh's dreams were one. They all had their real birth in the wise and prophetic minds of a small group of philanthropists of New England and New Jersey, and a central figure in that

group was Dr. Manasseh Cutler. If it be true that Jefferson wrote the Ordinance of 1787, which is denied, it is equally true, figuratively speaking, that Manasseh Cutler and his coadjutors guided his hand while he wrote. Whoever wrote it was the mere amanuensis, as it were, of Manasseh Cutler. It was, in a moral sense, his work, written, reported by the committee and adopted by the Continental congress, under his inspiration and influence.

Manasseh Cutler has justly been called "the father of the Ohio company" and "the father of the Ohio university;" and it is a mere enlargement of the thought to call him "the father of the Ordinance of 1787." The ordinance was adopted on the thirteenth of July, 1787, and the grant to the Ohio company was made on the twenty-seventh of the same month.

The passage of both measures was urged upon congress by the same parties, with Manasseh Cutler at their head, and as their acting and principal agent. The two measures were considered together by congress. They were reported by the same committee, and discussed before congress conjointly. One could not have been passed without the other. Without the ordinance the purchase would not have been accepted by Dr. Cutler and the Ohio company, for which he acted, and without the purchase the ordinance never would have been passed, nay, would probably never have been thought of. It took Dr. Cutler and his liberty-loving compeers a long time to inspire the southern members of congress, and Jefferson,

their master-spirit, with an appreciation and sanction of the principles of that ordinance.

What were the principles of that ordinance? They have now become household words; they underlie almost everything that is good and great in the country. They were those principles which, two years later, found their way into the Federal Constitution, in the shape of a bill of rights; which, in 1802, were embodied in the same form in the constitution of Ohio, and subsequently in the constitutions of the other four states of the Northwest territory. The same bill of rights is found in our present constitution, adopted in 1852, by a convention of which the grandson of Manasseh Cutler was a member.

The essential and efficient elements of the ordinance are contained in the single provision: "Religion, morality and knowledge being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged." In this single provision is embodied the true foundation of National greatness. No wonder that our march of empire since 1787 has been westward. It is because we have marched under this banner. Here is the germ of the riches, the intelligence and the rapid growth of the great northwest, nay, of the whole country. It is to the authors of this wise and far-reaching provision that these northwestern states, and especially our own Ohio, are indebted for whatever is high and noble in the character of their people, valuable in their surroundings, or bright and promising in

the future that awaits them. Our humble little library was but one of the early outgrowths from this provision of the ordinance—a small stream from this beneficent fountain. So was the Ohio university, in whose charter is embodied a copy of this provision, and whose endowment, by a grant of two townships of land, was provided for in the purchase of the Ohio company, which, as has been shown, immediately followed the adoption of the ordinance. That ordinance is the legitimate parent of our common school system, which has been in force in Ohio ever since 1825, constantly growing in usefulness and in public estimation, and constantly extending itself into the surrounding states.

Under the magic of this ordinance, the state of Ohio has been covered over with common schools, high schools, academies, colleges and public and private libraries.

It was this ordinance that built our churches and school-houses. It was this ordinance that inspired the people of Ohio to expend so largely of their private means, in noble and praiseworthy charitable and reformatory institutions. This ordinance has filled the patent office at Washington with new and useful inventions. It has invented and put in operation for our use the steam-engine, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and countless other inventions and devices for the betterment of the race. Whether it be true or not, that these great benefits, in whole or in part, are attributable to the influence of this ordinance, it is undeniably true, that during the ninety-five

years in which the ordinance has been in force, more advancement has been made in material civilization than in any ten centuries before. More has been accomplished within that period of ninety-five years to elevate the standard of civilization, to advance the arts and sciences, and to add to the conveniences, decencies and comforts of life, than had theretofore been accomplished in any one thousand years during the historic period. And much more has been done during that short period, than in centuries before, to elevate and educate the masses; to level upwards instead of downwards; to extend the domain of free government; to promote the cause of peace, harmony and brotherhood, and to make religion more rational, tolerant and charitable, and less ritual and dogmatic. Before the passage of that ordinance the sufferers by the Chicago fire, the Irish famine and the yellow fever would have called in vain for the munificent relief which they received at our hands. But for that ordinance the slave would still have been in bondage. Justly and truthfully does Mr. Chase, in his introduction to the 'Statutes of Ohio,' say of this ordinance: "Never, probably, in the history of the world, did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfill, and yet so mightily exceed, the anticipations of the legislators. The ordinance has well been described as a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night in the settlement and government of the northwestern states."

Such, briefly, is the history and character of the "Ordinance of 1787," and

it enters into and forms a necessary part of the history of every "Library Association" in the Union. Its instrumentalities are "Religion, Morality and Knowledge." These instrumentalities are to be forged and found only in the laboratories of "schools," and other "means of instruction." The conception is simple, and beautiful as it is simple. "Religion, Morality and Knowledge" may be compressed into the single idea of "Knowledge." For what are "religion and morality" but "knowledge" in its highest and best sense, in the sense of wisdom? And so, of "schools and means of instruction." They may be compressed into the single idea of "instruction," whether that instruction is to be in schools and seminaries of learning, or in the family, the church, the Sunday-school, the library, or elsewhere. The simple thought is that true national greatness, nay, true human greatness, can only be attained by governmental means for the "instruction" of the rising generation, by provisions of *law* which bring the means of instruction within the reach of the masses. Compressed within its narrowest compass, the principle asserted is: "*The state must educate.*"

The state of Ohio has faithfully obeyed the behest of this ordinance. She has at all times made education a primary object of legislation. The result is seen in the high stand which the state now maintains. She has produced a class of men and women of whom no state need be ashamed. She has built fifty thousand school-houses, and has expended two hundred millions of pub-

lic money in common school education. She has built more than ten thousand churches, and has organized and put in successful operation numerous academies, colleges and libraries, which are scattered all over the state, and which bring instruction to the doors of the people. Since 1802 the state has added nearly three millions to her population, besides studding the newer states and territories with her emigrants. Within that period she has redeemed twenty-two million acres of land from the wilderness, and converted them into farms, gardens, villages and cities. She has constructed a thorough system of canals, nine hundred and seventy-six miles in length, traversing the state in nearly all directions, and these canals, having served their day and purpose, have been superseded by seven thousand miles of railroads, which bring commerce and travel almost to every man's door. All this has been accomplished within a life-time. Men are still alive who aided in its beginnings, and who are now witnesses of the fact that the results have outrun the expectations of the most sanguine.

It is not claimed that our system and policy of education is alone to be credited with these vast results, but it is claimed that this system and policy sustains to them the relation which Æneas sustained to the sack of Troy—it was the principal agency.

An indispensable element in any complete system of education is the library. It reaches the adult as well as the minor. It is a cheap method of instruction, and available at times and

places where other modes are impracticable.

The history of the library which is the subject of this memorial is an instance and a standing proof of the value of that method. The light of that library has shone all around it, and is still shining. The traces of its influence are visible in the surrounding community, and it has to a great extent given tone and character to that community. Its remote causes are still in operation, verifying the saying of the poet, that "Tongues of dead men are not lost," and that "Thought kindles as it flies."

The eye that rightly looks back over "the distant landscape of the past," sees this little library as *one* of the beacon lights that have guided our upward progress. Let us cherish its memory; let us strew chaplets upon the graves of its founders; let us, by their example, and by this public memorial of it, be stimulated to follow in their footsteps, by spending more of our efforts and energies in the cause of education. Let us be co-workers with these pioneers in spreading knowledge among men. Let us so act in the matter that they, in contemplating the success of their work, may realize and appropriate the language of the poet:

"I shot an arrow into the air,
It fell to earth, I knew not where;
For, so swiftly it flew, the sight
Could not follow it in its flight.

"I breathed a song into the air,
It fell to earth, I knew not where;
For who has sight so keen and strong
That it can follow the flight of song!

"Long, long afterward, in an oak
I found the arrow still unbroke;
And the song from beginning to end,
I found in the heart of a friend."

Memorials of this nature cannot but be of positive value to the community—to the writers as well as the readers. They serve to cultivate the historical spirit, and to beget and keep in the heart a reverence for what is good and great in the past. As we become conscious of our indebtedness to a great past, we are more conscious of our responsibility to a greater present, and of our obligation to make the future worthy of what has preceded.

The savage takes no account of the past, and makes no provision for the future. His whole being, interest and aims are concentrated in the present hour. As man rises in the scale of civilization, his interest in the past deepens and intensifies, and there is a corresponding increase of his foresight and provision for the future.

The multiplication of libraries, lectures and historical and pioneer societies will always be found to be an evidence of culture—moral as well as intellectual. The civilization of a community can almost as accurately be gauged by these, as you can gauge the weather by the thermometer.

On the shelves of a single library in the state of Connecticut, we are told that there were counted two hundred and forty volumes and pamphlets, "connected simply with the local history of townships and counties in that state," and that the whole number of such volumes and pamphlets in that library was "vastly greater than that."

The Pioneer Association of Athens county has prepared this memorial in the spirit of the men whose lives and works it sets forth, for the promotion of "good government and the happiness of mankind;" and we send it forth to our brethren engaged in the same good work, in the hope and belief that it will be gladly received and kindly reciprocated.

Let us all unite, for the benefit of all, in placing upon record and preserving a recollection of our remote beginnings. Posterity will thank us for the labor, and the older the record grows the more value will they place upon it. Who would be willing to forget the history of Plymouth Rock or Jamestown? What would the world not now give for an authentic history of the first settlement of Greece, of China, or of Egypt? Beginnings of a people are generally small, but, unlike most other things,

they grow in value as they grow older. Unless recorded by contemporaries, or those within the reach of memory or authentic tradition, they are lost to the world. When left to frail memory, they finally vanish, or are resolved into mere myths.

There is a wise middle course between the blind and indiscriminate worship of ancestry observed by the Chinese, and that total neglect and forgetfulness of the past which characterizes the savage. Good men and their good deeds should ever be held up before the eyes of posterity for their reverence and imitation, and the names of bad men and their bad deeds should be execrated and forgotten. If this be true, as it surely is, then the Western Library association and its founders are eminently deserving of a place in the history of the country.

JOHN WELCH.

TWO NOTED PIONEERS OF THE WEST.

THE germ of Ohio's birth was sown in the darkest hour of Revolutionary struggle. Said an officer at General Washington's table, "If the British drive us from the Atlantic sea-board, what will become of us?" "We will retire to the Valley of the Ohio," said the father of his country, "and there we will be free." This saying was carried into the camps of Valley Forge and finally made its way into the homes of the soldiery. Thus were elicited the first inquiries concerning the vast wilderness beyond the Alleghany mountains. The close of the Revolution found the National treasury bankrupt. In lieu of gold, silver or greenbacks to meet the demands of unpaid troops, who had heroically endured seven years' hard service, congress issued "final certificates" of settlement. "Final" they were to many of the holders, for hunger and want forced them upon the market at one-sixth of par value. But worthless as they seemed at the time, these certificates were destined to be the foundation of a government that continues the wonder and the model of modern republics. It is difficult in these days of prosperity and infinite resources, to realize the condition of the colonies when the army was disbanded, and the "bold pride of a country's peasantry" found itself bereft of warfare and rusty in the arts of peace. Poor in purse, often physically wrecked,

the hero of the Revolution returned home to find himself and family thrown into humiliating competition with a people who, now that peace reigned, enjoyed the material prosperity they had accumulated, while the scarred and penniless veteran hazarded his life for them and his country's preservation. In this hour of dissolution, poverty and discontent, Washington's rejoinder was recalled. That far-lying Ohio valley wrested by their blood from the British crown, held the sustenance and peace for which they yearned. By the treaty of Paris, September, 1783, the United States came into possession of all that territory lying between the Ohio, Mississippi and the great lakes. As early as 1780, the government and settlement of this vast area—the first territory the United States possessed—exercised the intellect of the ablest statesmen of that day. To form a new state beyond the Ohio now became a matter of warmest solicitude to Washington's officers. In the inception and fulfillment of this plan they ever found a warm and diligent advocate in their old commander. Washington had a natural desire to see his old soldiers' labors requited; at the same time he knew the settlement of the valley would protect Virginia's frontier and promote commercial intercourse between her sea-ports, the Ohio valley and the lake regions. In the galaxy of brave New Englanders, who

labored indefatigably for the settlement of the valley, two characters stand out—strong, bold, picturesque. Nature, education, association and the resources of the time peculiarly fitted each for the part he was called upon to take in the inception and carrying out of the “Ohio scheme of settlement.” In their foresight, sagacity, moral courage and physical daring are reflected the sturdy qualities of that intrepid band of adventurers who floated in the *Mayflower* down the beautiful waters of the Ohio, and, landing at the mouth of the Muskingum, laid out, April 7, 1788, the first English settlement in the Northwestern territory.

A descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Salem, Massachusetts, General Rufus Putnam, rendered valuable services in the French and Revolutionary wars. But however great were his martial exploits, it is as a developer of his country's resources that his influence is chiefly felt and his fame perpetuated. His was the boyhood of many a poor, ambitious youth, with whose struggles Samuel Smiles acquaints the present generation. When seven years old he lost his father. The first two years of his orphanage passed in the home of his maternal grandfather, where he learned to read and acquired that thirst for knowledge which never left him and was never wholly appeased. His mother marrying again, he went home to find in his father's place one Captain Sadler, an illiterate man, who despised learning and denied young Putnam all opportunities for improvement. The captain kept an inn.

Rufus earned a few pennies waiting upon the guests. These he invested in ammunition, which, together with an old shotgun, enabled him to hunt partridges. From the sale of this game he bought a speller and arithmetic. But the light of a tallow candle was now withheld, while harder still to bear was the ridicule cast by him who stood in his father's place. When sixteen years of age he was apprenticed to a millwright. Here his education was equally neglected. But the natural bent could not be checked. Persevering, he acquired sufficient knowledge of the English language to leave historical manuscripts, which in vigor of thought and clearness of expression compare favorably with the productions of the college-bred men of that period. Nevertheless, Putnam felt his educational defects. “Oh, my children,” is the pathetic appeal he left to his descendants, “beware you neglect not the education of any under your charge as I was neglected.” But if Putnam was without college training, or natural quick or brilliant parts, he was rich in good common sense, sound judgment, patience and great power of endurance. In these qualities, linked to the skill of an engineer, Washington's star of hope rose on Dorchester Heights. In 1776 the Continental congress appropriated lands as bounties for officers and soldiers who should serve during the war. As early as 1783, Putnam forwarded to General Washington an able letter, together with a petition signed by 285 officers of the army, asking congress that the Northwestern

territory might be formed into a distinct government or colony of the United States, and that their bounty lands might be assigned to them in this district and provisions made for a further grant of land to such of the army as wished to become adventurers in the new government. This, the first definite step, outside of congress, towards the settlement of the Ohio valley, failed despite Washington's intercession to secure the action of that body. Putnam and his companion's desire to begin a new life in the western country, however, was too deeply rooted to be wholly eradicated. Forced to seek employment, he now went as surveyor into the Massachusetts bounty lands in Maine, while his old war comrade, General Tupper, returned into the Ohio valley. Two years later the veterans met and related their experiences round the New England fireside. So marvellous were Tupper's reports of the Ohio country, that the scheme of settlement was revived and resulted in the formation of the "Ohio Company of Associates," at the Bunch of Grapes tavern, in Boston, on the first of March, 1786. The first directors were General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel H. Parsons and Rev. Manasseh Cutler. This company subsequently appealed to congress for the purchase of as much land in that part of the valley indicated in the officers' petition of 1783, as could be paid for with one million dollars. They proposed to exchange the "final certificates" in payment for the land, to convert the officers' war legacies into future homes westward of the Ohio and to

form a new state. This petition was also unsuccessful. Instinctively, Putnam turned at this crisis to a man in whom the highest physical, mental and social qualities combined to make one of the most skilled diplomats of any age.

As agent of the Ohio company, Dr. Manasseh Cutler breathed new life and spirit into the enterprise. A graduate of Yale college, he practiced law, studied theology and finally became distinguished in that remarkable body of men known as the New England or Puritan clergy. He was eminent in many departments of learning. A chaplain of the Continental army, a member of the American Academy of Science, his acquaintance was wide and varied. With all his personal accomplishments, Dr. Cutler was a careful and able student of affairs. He was now in the prime of life. To an elegant and courtly presence, he added requisite tact of manner and insinuating grace of speech. A warmer advocate, a more polished courtier, could scarcely have been chosen to negotiate with congress. In his 'Life and Journal,' two valuable volumes recently edited by his grandchildren, he graphically describes his memorable visit to New York, where the Continental congress was in session in July, 1787. The journey was made in his private carriage—the only mode of travel in those days—and through the half-drawn blinds we catch charming bits of the scattering farmsteads and wayside inns of colonial times. Putting up his horse at the "Plow and Harrow," a tavern in the Bowery, he takes us into his confidence;

and while the intricacies of the Ohio purchase, together with the framing and passage of the Ordinance of 1787, are unraveled, we are openly confronted by one of the foremost makers of Ohio.

The Ohio purchase and the Ordinance of 1787 were parts of one and the same transaction. The purchase *would* not have been made without the ordinance, and the ordinance *could* not have been enacted except as an essential condition of the purchase. Both were before congress and under consideration when Dr. Cutler appeared before that body. The forty letters of introduction he carried from influential men of Massachusetts gave him immediate *entree* among the members of congress. His breadth of mind, personal accomplishments and polished manners particularly impressed the southern members, whose acquaintance he chiefly cultivated. They said they had never beheld his like in a northern man. The southern states prevailed in congress. The agent needed their votes. There was then a feeling—indeed it still exists—that New England did not favor the settlement of the west. Massachusetts had thirty thousand square miles of territory in the Province of Maine for sale, and it was the policy of her members to turn emigration in that direction. Knowing this, it was to the Ohio agent's advantage to hold himself aloof from New England and cultivate the friendship of the southern members. From his journal we learn that Colonel Carrington, Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Grayson, all of Virginia, were his warmest friends and confidential advisers.

His stay in New York was a series of social attentions, which helped rather than hindered the accomplishment of his business. He used these opportunities to urge his suit with the heads of departments, the board of treasury and the leaders of public sentiment in congress. The credit of the United States was at the lowest ebb. He claimed that the sale of the public lands would absorb the floating debt. He urged the importance of a systematic occupation of the west by a large colony of industrious, enterprising, patriotic men, such as stood ready to emigrate thither as a result of the Ohio purchase. Without expense to the government, they would form a barrier of defence from the British in the north and the Indian tribes in the territory. This was the first proposal made for the purchase of the public lands. His arguments deeply impressed all whose influence was desired. They promised him their coöperation and their votes. The personal magnetism of the man and the adroit diplomacy of the agent prevailed everywhere. "I cannot conceive," said Dr. Holton, a distinguished member from Massachusetts, "how Dr. Cutler so soon and so warmly engaged the friendship of members, for since I have been a member of that body I have never known so much attention paid to any one person."

Land without law was useless to men schooled in the essential principles of human rights—all the firm foundations upon which a republic can stand. In dealing with congress, Dr. Cutler was entrusted by his associates without

limitation or instruction. His wants and theirs were identical. He represented Massachusetts men, who had, in their constitution of 1780, abolished slavery, established public schools for general education, and framed the most advanced code of laws concerning the liberties and national rights of man, civil jurisprudence and public polity, which the world had then seen. He, with a hundred of his neighbors, was ready to venture life and fortune in the western wilderness, but unless they could take thither Massachusetts laws and institutions, the plan of emigration would fail. While he argued the feasibility of selling the lands to the Ohio company, he urged with equal eloquence the paramount importance of the Organic law. In her avidity to diminish the National debt, congress awoke to the necessity of framing laws satisfactory to the agent's demands. The result was the passage, on July 13, of the Ordinance of 1787. The ordinance is a condensed abstract of the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. That congress had no intention of framing an ordinance on this basis until after Dr. Cutler's arrival in New York, on the fifth of July, is now undisputed. Up to this time, the labors of congress had brought forth abstractions, skeletons, mere outlines. That these efforts embraced valuable principles and their originators deserve full credit, cannot be refuted. But in no instance did they embody those great principles for which the Ordinance of 1787 has since been distinguished as "one of the greatest monuments of civil jurisprudence." There was no

provision for the equal distribution of estates, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, the right of conscience, knowledge or education; nothing was said of the articles of compact, which were to remain unaltered forever, unless by common consent. Excepting Mr. Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, in which there was a clause prohibiting slavery in the territory after 1800, the question of slavery was not considered. What was the influence that wrought in five days such mighty and significant results?

July 10, Dr. Cutler wrote in his journal: "As congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal territory, for which a bill had been prepared and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go to Philadelphia." Returning to New York six days after the passage of the ordinance, we find this in his journal under date July 19: "Called on members of congress very early this morning; was furnished with the ordinance establishing a government in the western Federal territory. It is in a degree new modeled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified." There is no record of the precise amendments he suggested, but there is traditional testimony worthy of acceptance in establishing his claims to the authorship of its most important principles—the articles relating to religion,

education and slavery. Not until after the passage of the ordinance did he enter fully upon this negotiation for the purchase of the lands. The subterfuges to which the agent had recourse to bring about his desired end reveal that lobbying was not a lost art among our ancestors. Displeased with the terms of purchase now offered by congress, he declared his intention of purchasing lands of some of the states, who would give him incomparably better terms, and proposed to leave the city at once. This ruse had the desired effect and facilitated matters. A secret proposal was now made to him from a number of the principal characters of America, to extend the contract and take in another company, who desired to purchase three million acres of land for private speculation. This "speculation" was the Scioto company. Colonel William Duer projected it. He had influence in congress to procure the passage of the ordinance for the Ohio company's purchase by connecting with it the Scioto speculation. Convinced that without this influence, the success of his negotiations for the Ohio company would not be assured, and upon terms dictated by himself, Dr. Cutler acceded. It was the purpose of the directors to have General Parsons appointed governor of the territory. Subsequently, learning that General St. Clair, president of the Continental congress, was ambitious to be governor, Dr. Cutler, to secure his influence in the purchase, waived his preferences for General Parsons.

"I was now fully convinced," he

writes, "that it was good policy to give up Parsons and openly appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the eastern members in favor of his appointment." Again he writes: "We now entered into the true spirit of negotiations with great bodies; every machine in the city that it is possible to set to work, we now put in motion." On the following day an ordinance passed congress in the agent's terms, by which was secured a grant of near five million acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars, one million and a half of acres for the Ohio company, and the remainder for private speculation. Only by extending the contract so as to include the Scioto company, was it possible for him to secure the grant of land for the establishment of a university and the support of a ministry, which, next to the accomplishment of the purchase itself, were objects of deepest solicitude to Dr. Cutler. His business completed, he left New York with reluctance and set out for his home at Ipswich, near Boston, where he continued to labor in the cause of the western country, exhorting his neighbors, and entering into the spirit of pioneer preparation, as his journal amply testifies: "Sent every man in the parish an invitation to assist me in hauling wood to make wagons for the western country," he writes. With his own hand he painted in black letters on the great emigrant wagons that set

out from his parish, "*To Marietta on the Ohio.*"

He expected at the time to become a settler on the Muskingum, but with the exception of two visits to the valley, he remained a citizen of Massachusetts. Not so with General Putnam. The purchase completed, he set out with his associates at once to take possession of the land. The company had previously ordered that four surveyors should be employed and twenty-two men to attend them; that there should be added to this number twenty men, including six boat-builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith and nine common workmen. The surveyors were Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, Anselm Tupper and John Matthews from Massachusetts, and Colonel Putnam and Jonathan Meigs from Connecticut. The boat-builders and mechanics, in all twenty men, started under the command of Major Haffield White from Danvers, Massachusetts, December, 1787, and reached Simrall's ferry, on the Youghiogheny river, thirty miles above Pittsburgh, late in January. The surveyors and their attendants, numbering twenty-six, met at Hartford, Connecticut, early in January, and began, under the command of General Putnam and Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, their wearisome journey into the promised land. Reaching the mountains, there were such depths of snow that they were forced to abandon the wagons. "Our only resource," says General Putnam, "was to build sleds and harness tandem, and in this manner, with four sleds and men marching in front, we set forward and reached the 'Yoh' the

fourteenth February." The men were obliged to break the way through the snow for the horses to follow with their sleds. But a few miles of the journey were accomplished each day, and night found them bivouacked round large fires kindled in the woods. To men untried at Rhode Island, Brandywine and Yorktown these difficulties might have seemed unsurmountable. In two weeks the brave adventurers reached the "Yoh," where the other detachment was met. The boats in which they were to complete the journey were not ready. The remainder of February and March was spent, under the direction of Captain Jonathan Devol, the architect and superintendent of the boat-building, in completing the flotilla. It consisted of a galley of fifty tons' capacity, a flat boat of three tons' burthen and three canoes. The galley was forty-five feet long, twelve feet broad, and was stoutly built; it had a covered deck, which was high enough for a man to walk under without stooping, and the sides were of sufficient strength to resist the force of a bullet. At length, after months of wearied travel and work and waiting, the emigrants launched the galley, to which they gave the name of "*Mayflower*," on the afternoon of April 1, and passing down the tributary, entered the tranquil water of the Ohio. What dreams of hope and gladness dilated the souls of these brave sons, accustomed to the sterile soil of New England, as the shifting beauty and wild luxuriance of sky and hill and stream unfolded to their eager vision!

Sailing down that fair river, under

April's varying sky, did they foresee the mighty results Providence had in reserve for that seed they were about to sow at the mouth of the Muskingum! The sun had reached the meridian when the *Mayflower* landed on that memorable day in the annals of Ohio. The erection of temporary habitations began at once. The following day the surveyors laid out the town. In memory of France's unhappy young queen, Marie Antoinette, they called it Marietta—the key-stone to the great northwest.

"No colony in America," wrote General Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just begun at Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there were never men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

The mechanical skill of General Putnam and the practical knowledge of his associates soon saw the necessity of erecting strong block-houses and fortifications. Despite the treaties then existing, Putnam's knowledge of the Indian character warned him of the importance of protecting the settlers from outbreaks that might ensue. The wisdom of this foresight was manifest in the Indian wars that soon harassed the colony, which, together with the failure of the corn crop, increased the hardships of the settlers and, for a time, checked the tide of emigration. The Ordinance of 1787 went into effect with the arrival

of Governor St. Clair, on July 9 of the same year. This matchless legislation, as has been said, was a "pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night" in the settlement of the territory. Coming without precedent, it had no old formulas or traditions to wipe out. It took immediate root in virgin soil and its fruits are to-day apparent in the prosperity, loyalty and equal distribution of resources characteristic of the great northwest. "Never, probably, in the history of the world," said Chief-Justice Chase, "did a measure of legislation so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators." Every man on board the *Mayflower* left an impress for good upon the institutions of Marietta. "I knew them all," said Lafayette; "they were the bravest of the brave—better men never lived."

The town settled, General Putnam continued to take an active part in every phase of its growth. He was a member of the territorial legislature and the convention that framed the state constitution. He is truly the foremost builder of Ohio, sharing, as he did, all the vicissitudes of pioneer life, and by his enthusiasm and indomitable will, inspiring his comrades in their great design—to found a state worthy of the Republic preserved by their blood. From such beginnings have sprung, in a century, five great commonwealths, husbanded by twelve millions of people.

L. R. McCABE.

OUR HIGHEST TERRITORIAL COURT AND JUDGES.

THE Ordinance of 1787, passed by the Continental congress on the thirteenth of July of said year, for the government of the Northwestern territory, contained a provision for the organization of a territorial court to be composed of three judges who should reside in the territory, each to be the owner in fee simple of five hundred acres of land therein, any two of whom, however, were to constitute a quorum and hold a court. It was to be a court of common law jurisdiction, composed of judges appointed by congress for life or during good behavior, with authority to hold courts once a year in the organized counties of the territory wherever they deemed it necessary, and where it was practicable. This court, composed of judges thus chosen, appointed or elected by congress, and thus organized by National authority, seems to have been a tribunal that had original jurisdiction to a certain extent, and also exercised the powers of appellate courts—was, in fact, the court of *last resort* in the territory.

These territorial judges also performed other than judicial duties. In coöperation with the executive of the territory, they exercised legislative functions, any two of them, with the governor, forming a quorum for the transaction of legislative duties. In their legislative functions they were not limited to original enactments, but were authorized, at their discretion, to select or adopt such of the statutes of the original states as they might suppose better adapted

to the condition of the people of the territory than such original laws they might enact, but none of either class, however, were operative without the approval of congress. One of the laws they passed provided "that the common law of England, and all statutes in aid thereof, made previous to the fourth year of James the First, should be in full force within the territory."

This joint exercise of legislative powers by the governor of the Northwest territory and the territorial judges was allowable, legal and practiced only during the existence of the first grade of territorial government, that is from 1788 until 1799, the time when the second or representative grade of government was started, by the organization of a joint legislative body, composed of a council of five members selected by congress out of a list of ten gentlemen, each of whom being the owner of five hundred acres of land situated in the territory, whose names had been forwarded by the popular branch of the territorial legislature, a body with which the council was to act conjointly in passing the territorial laws, whose members were to be each the owner of two hundred acres of land in the territory, and to be elected by popular vote of districts for two years, while members of the council were chosen and commissioned to serve for five years.

The first bench of territorial judges, as chosen by the Continental congress on the sixteenth of October, 1787, was composed

of General James M. Varnum of Rhode Island; General Samuel H. Parsons of Connecticut, and Major John Armstrong of Pennsylvania; the last named, however, declined the appointment, and Judge John Cleves Symmes of New Jersey was appointed by congress to fill the vacancy on the nineteenth of February, 1788, and he accepted the position and served until the expiration of the territorial government in March, 1803.

In January, 1789, Judge Varnum died, and General William Barton of Rhode Island was appointed to fill the vacancy on the tenth of August of said year. He, however, declined the position, having been severely wounded in the Revolutionary war; was in a measure disqualified for arduous public service, whether military or civil, though he had served as a member of a convention which passed upon the question of adopting the Constitution of the United States. General Barton commanded the force that, in 1777, captured the British commander, General Prescott, for which service congress voted him a sword, a colonel's commission and a grant of land. He was preëminently a meritorious soldier and a patriotic statesman, and if he could have accepted the judgeship would have made an eminent jurist.

Judge George Turner, a Revolutionary soldier and a personal friend of President Washington, was, on the twelfth of September, commissioned by the latter a territorial judge to fill the place declined by General Barton. Judge Turner was a native of England, born in 1750, came to the United States before the Revolution, joined the American army as a captain at

the breaking out of the war and distinguished himself in several severe engagements as a heroic soldier and pure patriot. Judge Turner served as territorial judge, with credit and honor, from 1789 until 1797, when he resigned his office. He removed to Philadelphia in 1833, and died in that city on the sixteenth of March, 1843, at the ripe age of ninety-three years.

Judge Parsons met his death by drowning in the Big Beaver river, on the tenth of November, 1789, and was succeeded on the bench by Judge Rufus Putnam, who was appointed March 31, 1790, and served a number of years, when he resigned the judgeship to accept of other offices, both civil and military, in which he rendered highly valuable services to his country. The truth to say, General and Judge Rufus Putnam made himself one of the most valuable men that ever acquired a residence in the Northwest territory. Somewhat extended biographical sketches of Judges Parsons and Putnam have heretofore been given by the writer in a paper published in the November number of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY*. It is, therefore, unnecessary to remark further upon the honored career and characteristics of these venerated territorial jurists, early-time distinguished pioneers, Revolutionary patriots, statesmen, soldiers and eminent citizens of the Northwest territory.

Judge Joseph Gilman attained to the territorial judgeship December 22, 1796. He was the immediate successor to Judge Rufus Putnam, who resigned his seat on the bench as a territorial judge to accept of other official positions, both military and civil, in which he served with great

credit and decided ability. Among those positions was that of brigadier-general in General Wayne's army ; also that of commissioner to treat with certain Indian tribes, and that of surveyor-general of the territory, serving in the latter office until the termination of the territorial government in 1803 ; also served in the convention of 1802.

Gilman was long an honored name throughout "the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," and especially about Marietta, Honorable Benjamin Ives Gilman being chosen by the people of Washington county a member of the convention which formed Ohio's first constitution in 1802, and he bore himself well among the Putnams, Massies, Worthingtons, Morrises, Tiffins, Wells, Byrds, Dunlavys, Baldwins and others of that able and dignified body. Judge Gilman served as judge until 1803.

Return Jonathan Meigs, jr., received the appointment of territorial judge February 12, 1798, to succeed Judge Turner, who had then recently resigned the judgeship. Judge Meigs came to the territory early enough in 1788 to be present at the organization thereof in July of said year, and served as judge from February, 1798, until the termination of the territorial government, early in 1803, his colleagues on the bench during those five years being Judges Symmes and Gilman ; and it may also be incidentally remarked that Judge Meigs was made a judge of the state supreme court upon the organization of the state government in March, 1803. In a former number of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* the writer gave an extended biographical sketch of Judge Meigs, which supersedes the necessity of

doing so in this paper. Suffice it to say in addition, briefly, that Judge Meigs had been an officer of distinction in the Revolutionary war ; became the war governor of Ohio during the War of 1812-15 with England ; was an active major-general during a portion of that conflict ; served several years as a member of the United States senate, and was a very popular and efficient postmaster-general from 1814 to 1823.

The truth to say, our territorial judges were exceptionally and preëminently pure-minded, able, patriotic jurists and statesmen of tried integrity and honor, who had taken lessons in the science of government from our Revolutionary fathers—men who had been largely under the eyes of Washington, the father of his country ; of Hamilton, of Knox, of Adams, of Jay, of Marshall, of Jefferson, of Patrick Henry ; men they were who had met on our Revolutionary battle-fields with the Lees, the Morgans, with Knox and Gates and Greene, La Fayette, DeKalb, Kosciusko, Lincoln, with Sullivan and Wayne and others of our heroes and statesmen of our Revolutionary era ; men were they of the "heroic age" of our Republic ; honored names they all bore, and honorably identified they all were with the military and civil history of our country, and with the most honored names connected with American history, American interests, American honor ! As we all know, a member of the family of one of the judges (the only one who had worn the ermine from the beginning to the end of the territorial government) developed in the succeeding generation into a very popular President of the United States.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

THE PROHIBITION PARTY: ITS ORIGIN, PURPOSE AND GROWTH.

II.

IN pursuance of this call a number of persons met in Crestline on April 14 and 15, 1869, and there resolved to organize a new political party. There is nothing remarkable about this mere resolve. It is a resolve that has often been taken very lightly—often with no other desire than to seek revenge for fancied wrongs or grievances from the then existing parties, sometimes in the hope of getting office. This resolve, however, was taken without the expectation of securing office except, perhaps, in a remote future, and then only when the people of the state and Nation had been won, by long years of educational work, to see the justice and wisdom of the demands of this new party. The number of persons who met for this purpose has been variously stated—by some as high as seventeen and by others at thirteen. It was certainly a very small number, but with one or two exceptions they have stood firmly by their principles there declared. Unfortunately, the minutes of that meeting have not been preserved, and we can only give their names as remembered by some of those who participated. They are as follows: Rev. Hugh L. Parrish, Jay Odell, L. B. Silver, Rev. E. J. Fiery, George P. Burwell, J. A. Spencer, J. E. Ingersoll, Grove N. Abby, Dr. Harris, Dr. Booth, Dr. M. G. Tyrrill, Seynar Williams, Jackson C.

Murdock, J. J. Barnes, Dr. C. H. Merrick. By this assembly a call was made for a state convention, which was held in Mansfield on July 14, 1869, which nominated a full state ticket. Rev. Samuel Scott was the candidate for governor. At the October election of that year this ticket received 679 votes.

We shall not trace the history of the party in this state further, except to give the vote received by it from year to year up to the present time: 1869—679; 1870—2,812; 1871—4,084; 1872—2,100; 1873—10,270; 1874—7,815; 1875—2,591; 1876—1,636; 1877—4,836; 1878—5,682; 1879—4,145; 1880—2,616; 1881—16,597; 1882—12,202; 1883—8,362; 1884—11,269; 1885—28,081; 1886—28,982; 1887—29,700; 1888—about 25,000. This is the highest vote given in presidential years. The figures for the October elections for the presidential years would vary some from this. We have given this history of the party in Ohio for the reason of its being the only state that seems to have kept up its organization from 1869 to this time, showing a vote every year, and because of the prominence of the men engaged in that movement, many of them having been among the foremost in the state and National party from that time until the present.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.

During the session of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars, held at Oswego, New York, May 27, 1869, a call was made for a separate meeting of all those who were in favor of independent political action. Jonathan H. Orne of Marblehead, Massachusetts, was chosen chairman, and J. A. Spencer of Cleveland, Ohio, secretary. After discussion and deliberation, it was resolved that a committee of five, consisting of Rev. John Russell of Detroit, Michigan; Professor Daniel Wilkins of Bloomington, Illinois; J. A. Spencer of Cleveland, Ohio; John N. Stearns of New York City, and James Black of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, should be appointed to prepare and issue a call for a National Prohibition convention for the purpose of organizing a National Prohibition party, to be constituted and to meet at such time and place as the committee might determine.

The committee prepared and issued the following call, which from its historical interest is here quoted in full, with the names appended thereto:

"To the Friends of Temperance, Law and Order in the United States:

"The moral, social and political evils of intemperance and the non-enforcement of the liquor laws are so fearful and prominent, and the causes thereof are so intrenched and protected by governmental authority and party interest, that the suppression of these evils calls upon the friends of temperance; and the duties connected with home, religion and public peace demand that old political ties and

associations shall be sundered, and a distinct political party, with prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drinks as the most prominent feature, should be organized.

"The distinctive political issues that have for years past interested the American people are now comparatively unimportant, or fully settled, and in this aspect the time is auspicious for a decided and practical effort to overcome the dread power of the liquor trade.

"The undersigned do therefore earnestly invite all friends of temperance and the enforcement of law, and favorable to distinct political action for the promotion of the same, to meet in general mass convention in the city of Chicago on Wednesday, the first day of September, 1869, at eleven o'clock A. M., for the purpose of organizing for distinct political action for temperance.

"All churches, Sunday-schools and temperance societies of all names are requested to send delegates, and all persons favorable to this movement are invited to meet at the time and place above stated."

Among many others the following were some of the prominent names appended to this call: J. H. Orne, Marblehead, Massachusetts; J. A. Spencer, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. Peter Stryker, D. D., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; T. M. Van Court, Chicago, Illinois; Wm. Hargreaves, M. D., Reading, Pennsylvania; D. W. Gage, Ames, Iowa; L. B. Silver, Salem (now Cleveland), Ohio; Neal Dow, Portland, Maine; Rev. John Russell, Detroit, Michigan; James Black, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Jay Odell, Cleveland, Ohio; D. R. Pershing, Warsaw, Indiana; General

J. S. Smith, Kingston, New York ; George S. Tambling, jr., Cleveland, Ohio ; Rev. Moses Smith, Xenia, Ohio ; A. T. Proctor, Cleveland, Ohio ; Peterfield Trent, Richmond, Virginia ; George P. Burwell, Cleveland, Ohio ; Rev. N. E. Cobleigh, D. D., Athens, Tennessee ; Rev. George Lansing Taylor, New York City.

ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.

Pursuant to call, nearly five hundred delegates from the states of California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia assembled in Farwell hall, Chicago, Wednesday, September 1, 1869. D. R. Pershing of Indiana called the meeting to order, read the call, and, on his motion, Rev. John Russell of Michigan was chosen temporary chairman, and J. A. Spencer of Ohio temporary secretary. Rev. Dr. Evarts, upon request of the chairman, in prayer asked the blessing of God upon the labors of the convention.

Honorable Gerrit Smith of New York being present, was called upon and addressed the convention.

Upon the report of the committee on permanent organization, James Black of Pennsylvania was chosen permanent chairman, and J. A. Spencer of Ohio permanent secretary.

The convention adopted the following

PLATFORM :

WHEREAS, Protection and allegiance

are reciprocal duties, and every citizen who yields obedience to the just commands of his government is entitled to the full, free and perfect protection of that government in the enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty and private property ; and

WHEREAS, The traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a large mass of citizens and renders private property insecure ; and

WHEREAS, The existing parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question ; therefore we, in National convention assembled, as citizens of this free Republic, sharing in the duties and responsibilities of its government, in discharge of a solemn duty we owe to our country and our race, unite in the following declaration of principles :

1. That while we acknowledge the true patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundations of this government, securing at once the rights of the states severally, and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchres of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our solemn pledges of fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of American Independence and our Federal Constitution.

2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of the ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license

whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective legal prohibition, both by state and National legislature.

3. That in view of this, and inasmuch as the existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great and paramount question, and absolutely refuse to do anything toward the suppression of the rum traffic, which is robbing the Nation of its brightest intellects, destroying internal prosperity and rapidly undermining its very foundations, we are driven by an imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with these political parties and organize ourselves into a National Prohibition party, having for its primary object the entire suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

4. That while we adopt the name of the National Prohibition party as expressive of our primary object, and while we denounce all repudiation of the public debt and pledge fidelity to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, we deem it not expedient at present to give prominence to other political issues.

5. That while we recognize the good providence of Almighty God in supervising the interests of this Nation from its establishment to the present time, we would not, in organizing our party for the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic, forget that our reliance for ultimate success must be upon the same Omnipotent arm.

6. That a central executive committee of one from each state and territory and the District of Columbia be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to take such action as in their judgment will best promote the interests of the party.

There was a lively discussion on the third resolution, but it was at last adopted by a large majority. The delegates had gone there for business, and they were determined to complete that business by the organization of a new party on a new and distinct political question, by which they proposed to take issue with both the old parties in regard to the treatment of the liquor question by government. An extended "Address to the People" was issued. The new party was, after considerable discussion, named the

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY,

and the following central committee was appointed: Rev. John Russell, Detroit, Michigan, chairman; Honorable G. T. Stewart, Norwalk, Ohio, secretary; Colonel S. R. Davidson, St. Paul, Minnesota; J. M. May, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Honorable D. R. Pershing, Warsaw, Indiana; Rev. H. Green, Marshalltown, Iowa; C. B. Hull, Chicago, Illinois; John T. Ustick, Missouri; James F. Stewart, San Francisco, California; Rev. William Goodell, Bozrahville, Connecticut; James Black, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; O. K. Harris, Washington, District of Columbia; Professor W. C. Thomas, Junction City, Kansas; Honorable Joshua Nye, Maine; Rev. William Hosmer, Auburn, New York; Honorable S. B. Ransom, Jersey City, New Jersey.

This convention was one of great importance at that time. It brought together a large number of representatives from various states, who for the first time met for the distinct purpose of organizing politically for the work in which they had, in different ways, been laboring for years.

They recognized the fact that no amount of moral or religious work could be permanently successful in staying this evil as long as the government sanctioned the business. They had studied the problems and science of government sufficiently to discover that the true intent and end of government was being frustrated by the permission of a business which so demoralized the people and wasted their resources.

It was a very interesting convention, and we would like to give extended quotations from the speeches made by such men as John Russell, temporary chairman, James Black, permanent chairman, Rev. William Goodell, Honorable Gerrit Smith, G. T. Stewart and many others, but want of space forbids.

Whatever may be the private opinion of those who may read this history, of the necessity of this action at that or any other time, we think that every honest and thoughtful student must admit that it was a great undertaking. To organize and start on its course a political party is always a great work. If any newly organized party be destined to achieve any great results, it must have several necessary elements of strength. It must have a great and distinct object for its existence, and that object must be of a nature foreign to the then prevailing policy of the existing parties.

That object must be so foreign to the policy of the then existing parties as to make it impossible, or to the last degree improbable, that the then existing parties would adopt it. And lastly, it must have men to guide the movements of this new

party who are thoroughly imbued with the necessity of such a party; who see clearly the line of policy that must be followed, and who have the courage to accept defeat after defeat, to bear derision, abuse or cajolery, and stand ready at all times to devote their lives, and, if necessary, give them up, to establish the principles to which they have pledged themselves. We believe that all the above requirements existed at the time and in the organization of the Prohibition party. First, it had a great and distinct object of existence. Outside of the organization of the Christian church—which, when rightly understood, has for its object the carrying forward of all real reforms—there has never in modern times been such a demand and need for an organization to make a distinctive fight against a so great and all-pervading evil. Rivers of tears, oceans of blood, the wasting of millions of the people's wealth, the filling of thousands of graves, the crowding of almshouses, jails and asylums, and last, but not least, the direct onslaught on the grand fabric of our free institutions, certainly constituted a demand for earnest and patriotic men to study well and act vigorously and promptly in the direction which, to them, seemed most fit and most certain to stay all this evil, and wrest the administration of government from the hands of those who, seemingly devoted to no object but the getting and holding of office, were a continuous stumbling-block and barrier in the way of any such reforms, and continually shaping their policy on this subject to catch the vote of the lower elements of society—the necessary

minority. The object of this new party was certainly foreign to the policy of the then existing parties.

Secondly, the condition of things in the then existing parties makes it apparent, we think, that at that time there was good and sufficient reason to believe that they *could not* adopt the policy proposed by the new party. And if there was any room for an honest doubt at that time, there certainly is none now, after twenty years of work, both of this party and of earnest men in both of the old parties, which would, if anything could, induce or compel them to adopt it. The policy of this party was so foreign to a majority or a controlling minority of the then existing parties that there was no hope of their being brought to endorse it. A controlling minority in each of the old parties was at that time organized in leagues and congresses to oppose the effort of other minorities in those parties to turn them in a direction hostile to the interests of the liquor traffic. And as the influence of this new party has been felt, and as the efforts of those remaining in the old parties have become more radical, the opposition have become more solidly organized, and have, as the history of these parties shows, fastened themselves more firmly upon them. It is not because there are not many—perhaps a majority—of the members of the old parties that would be in favor of their party doing the work proposed by the Prohibition party, but it is simply that the management of those parties is in the hands of men who must have present success—they must win the next election. It is only when men or parties are willing, and have the grace, to endure defeat that they can

win victories for principle. This neither of the old parties had in 1869, and neither of them have now. The men who organized the Prohibition party were not fools, nor did they want to take upon themselves unnecessary burdens, but they were students of political history, and they were able to see that the machinery of the old parties was so completely in the hands of the enemy that it would be easier to build up a new party, great as that effort must be, than to attempt to control the parties then in existence.

Neither were they men with any political grievance. We do not know of one of them who had been an office-seeker in the old parties, or went into the new party for that purpose. If they were seeking office they went to a very poor place to get that want satisfied. On the other hand, there have been hundreds and thousands of men kept out of this party for the sake of office, and it has been, and is to this day, one of the constant and most successful means of holding temperance men in the old parties to give them some petty office or honor, by which they will be committed to their parties for the next campaign. It is a remarkable fact that these men have stood firmly all these years. They were men who were not only independent in politics, but were sufficiently independent in their ability to make a livelihood as to be able to contribute to the constant expense of keeping up a party that makes it a large part of its business to educate the people, supporting newspapers, spreading tracts, employing lecturers and the many other means of getting their principles before the people. If devotion to a cause is any evidence of its merits, then the cause

of Prohibition must be a good cause, for more devoted, untiring and constant workers have seldom, if ever, been seen. Every campaign begins the next day after the election, and there is no end to the work until death stops all work, and the weary but willing hands are at rest. No great reform ever succeeded without such men to back it. No good cause ever failed with such men to support it.

GEORGE L. CASE.

[*To be continued.*]

AN OBERLIN PREACHER WHO SPOKE HIS MIND.

IF ever there was a man who was terribly in earnest, and who believed that he had a mission to save souls, President Finney was the man. He did not preach for money nor fame, but because his conscience would not let him do anything else. When he went out after souls he chose the weapon of attack nearest at hand, and gained some remarkable victories. He did not often pare his words down to make them round and smooth. He blurted forth any truth that might come foremost into his mind. On one occasion Theodore Tilton, who was in the west, called at Oberlin and spent the day with him. In the course of their conversation Tilton said: "Mr. Finney, I have always thought that you were a good man, but I don't agree with you in all your religious views."

"Why, what views?" asked the president.

"Well, for instance, the doctrine of the existence of a personal devil."

Mr. Finney looked at him a moment and then pointedly said: "Well, if you only will resist him you'll find out that there is one."

The students had to stand some sharp shot at times. It was Mr. Finney's custom to offer a short prayer after each recitation. One day, when the class in theology had been airing some weighty views of their own and "showing off," so to speak, he arose and, closing his eyes, said: "O Lord, don't let these young men think because they have let down a little line in the infinite sea of thy greatness that they have sounded all its depths. Save them from conceit, O Lord." On another occasion, when his class had been careless and inattentive, he prayed with deep fervor: "O Lord, go with these wretched boys and help them fish up their lost souls."

One day as he was out walking he met a tailor named Godly, and, as was his custom on seeing a stranger in Oberlin, stopped him and said: "I don't think I have met you before. What is your name?"

"Godly," was the reply.

"Well, are you a Christian, Mr. Godly?"

"I am not."

"Then," said Mr. Finney, sorrowfully, "your name might as well be Un-Godly."

One night a grist-mill was burned down. The president was present, and on his return home he met a young man, to whom he said: "Good-evening. We've had quite a fire. Are you a Christian?" Then he passed on without waiting for a reply.

Once when his church choir had sung an anthem that sounded artificial and worldly to his old-fashioned hearing, he prayed: "O Lord, we trust that thou hast understood the song they have tried to sing; thou knowest that we could not understand a word of it."

One night, at the regular prayer-meeting, one of those sad and sorrowful women who think the world all destruction and brimstone if heaven does not come with rosemary and lavender scents each morning into their windows, arose, and in a whining tone began to air her wrongs. She said she had moved to Oberlin because she thought it was a godly place, and that she would be among sanctified people. She had sadly found her mistake, discovered that they were much like the people of the world, and much more stuff of the same sort. Right in the midst of her wail Mr. Finney abruptly asked: "Sister, how much have you done to make Oberlin better since you arrived among us?" She thought a moment in confused silence, and then sat down. She aired her melancholy views in public no more.

Early in the war he wrote several impassioned letters to President Lincoln on the slavery question. In speaking of them he afterward said: "On bended knees I wrote one, and then I prayed God so earnestly all the while that I might move him. But no answer came; I could not

be at peace. I wrote again and waited. This time there came a little note, giving no thanks nor promises, only asking a question. I answered it, and knew that God had prevailed." This was only a short time before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.

As a revivalist he had a natural power that made itself felt in many ways. He seemed to absolutely sway the souls of those about him. After one of his sermons he approached a young man and asked him about his soul. The accosted man grew very angry, and at last spat in Mr. Finney's face and then rushed away. Later at night the venerable president heard a ring at the door bell, and on answering it saw his assailant, who said: "Mr. Finney, I am no less a skeptic than I was before, but I want to apologize for my conduct toward you to-night." The president gave him a solemn, serious look, and without a word shut the door. The young man walked away. The look haunted him. He wandered about, and long after midnight again went to Mr. Finney's door and begged for counsel and help. He was taken in and earnestly prayed with, and soon after joined the church.

An infidel once accosted Mr. Finney, prepared to show his wisdom in a discussion of the truths of the Christian religion. The other gave him but one look, which read him through and through, and without a word passed on. He was soon after converted, and said he had never known himself until he was revealed in the light of that one look. One student who was listening to a powerful sermon on a Sunday morning could stand it no longer, but

cried out that he was a sinner and must be saved. Mr. Finney stopped in the midst of his sermon, called the young man to the altar, and prayed for him. A young lady who often imitated Mr. Finney's voice and gestures for the amusement of her friends was at a service one night, when the gallery partly gave way and a panic was threatened. In her fright the girl rushed to the pulpit and threw her arms around the minister and cried: "Save me! Save me!" One student, who professed to be an infidel, in order to provoke an argument, one day said: "Mr. Finney, I am afraid that I have committed the unpardonable sin." "I guess you have," was the only response vouchsafed him.

He was preaching one day on "Pride," and in the course of his sermon said: "Why, I shouldn't wonder if even our good brother Pease is guilty of taking pride at times in the reflection that he has so little pride." He was in the habit of thus illustrating his discourse by reference to members of his audience, turning toward one and saying: "Is brother This fully alive to the work?" or "How goes it now with the soul of brother That?" When he was bidding Theodore Tilton farewell, on the occasion above referred to, he said: "Theodore, why do you print those loose articles on divorce? Theodore, you'll go to hell as surely as you live!" Once he was praying for Andrew Johnson, and said: "And now, O Lord, we pray thee for Andrew Johnson. Wilt thou show him that he is only a man, and, after all, a poor specimen of a man. But if he persists in misapprehending himself, then wilt thou put him to bed. Put a hook in his nose and keep him from doing this mischief."

He had the greatest confidence and the most sincere respect of the people of Oberlin, many of whom believed that he could do anything. It is recorded that the following conversation occurred between two of them one morning on their way home from church:

"Did you notice," said one, "what a remarkable answer to prayer we witnessed this morning? Rain was asked for, and a shower came. To be sure, not very heavy, but it did some good."

"That was nothing," earnestly replied the other, "you should hear President Finney pray for rain. When he asks for it, it comes down in a flood."

Mr. Finney has himself left a record of his first impressions of Oberlin, and said therein: "I came onto the ground in 1835. The first living thing that I saw, in wending my way from the state road through an unbroken forest with no path, was a hedgehog. He was a symbol of the state of feeling that for some years prevailed in the country toward Oberlin. As he took a defiant attitude and erected his quills in every direction I seized a club and killed him. . . . The country around us bristled with opposition. A year or two after I came here I went out on the ridge toward Elyria to get some slips of currant bushes. The man was very cross when he found I was from Oberlin, and snapped out: 'You're going to compel the young men to marry nigger wenches over there, and you're going to try to unite Church and State.' For years the opposition was so great that they threatened to tear down our buildings and force us to abandon the enterprise."

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

BOATING ON THE COLUMBIA AND OKINAKANE RIVERS IN
MID-WINTER.

Take long walks in stormy weather, or through deep snows in the fields or woods, if you would keep your spirits up. Deal with brute nature. Be cold and hungry and weary.—*Thoreau*.

SPOKANE FALLS, Washington Territory, November 28, 1887.—To-day, N. L. and I went to the stage office to inquire when the next stage left for the Okinakane. It is advertised to start twice a week, Monday and Thursday, and to go through in thirty-six hours. They told us it ran but once a week at this time of the year, and that we would not be able to start till the next Monday, but if we were very anxious to go, they would telephone to Davenport and have the stage held for us. So we bought tickets for twenty dollars each, and concluded to start on a special at five o'clock the next morning. We then went to a few stores and bought woolen shirts, overalls, etc., to wear on the trip.

November 29.—We started this morning at five o'clock from Spokane Falls to the Okinakane. In this latitude it does not get light before seven o'clock at this time of the year, and we had two hours' ride in the dark and three hours' ride before we got our breakfast. We took breakfast at Deep Creek, a small village of two stores, four saloons and a grist-mill, and arrived at Davenport at one o'clock. We got a first-rate dinner here, price twenty-five cents, and also found the stage waiting for us. There were two passengers, who had left Spokane Falls at

six o'clock the day before, and were in no very good humor at having to wait at Davenport for us. The stage was a common spring wagon without a cover, and with a rack fixed to the end for trunks, etc. It was loaded almost to its full capacity without the five passengers. The driver ordered us all to get in the wagon before he brought the horses out, as he said he "would have to be going as soon as they were hitched." As soon as the three men from the stable could get the four horses on, they flew back out of the way, and we started on the run, the leaders bucking and kicking, stage-driver's whip and voice going. Away we went on the run, up and down hill, for four or five miles, making splendid time, but afterwards the "bunch grass horses" tired out and slowed down, and it was after dark when we reached Wilber, forty miles from Davenport. Wilber is a new town, situated on Wild Goose Bill's old ranch, and known all over the country as Goosetown.

November 30.—Started for W.'s ferry this morning. We have two large sacks of mail on the stage. There is no government mail into the mines. All the mail is carried by private stages and the miner is charged ten cents a letter. We did not have a change of horses before leaving the town of Wilber, and our horses were used up by yesterday's drive, so that we could only go on a slow walk.

Between Wilber and the ferry lies what is called the Grand Coulé. In this part of the country they call a ravine or canyon a coulé. The Columbia river has at some time ages ago run through the Grand Coulé, which is a thousand feet below the mesa or table-land. The road down to and up from it is very steep. The Columbia is at least five hundred feet lower. The coulé is said to be an excellent place for stock, as it affords them good shelter, and the snow does not lie in it.

One of our passengers was a miner on his way to Salmon City. He was an expert gambler, and abused the stage and driver so heartily that there was nothing left for the rest of us to say, and we kept quiet. The baggage rack at the end of the wagon had broken the bed, and there was danger of the back seat falling off and leaving the passengers in the road. N. and I, as we were the lightest, had to take that seat. We had to walk up the hills to save the horses, and down to save the stage, and it is a very hilly country. It seemed to me that it was all hills.

December 1.—At W.'s ranch we slept in the hay in the stable. One of our party was so tired that he went to bed without taking off his overshoes. It had snowed most of the day before, and our blankets were wet. We did not have a very pleasant night! We crossed the Columbia and left for the Okinakane in the morning. The horses were more worn out, and we went slower than ever. Finally, about seven miles from the Okinakane, the miner and his partner left the stage and walked in. We got in about two hours after dark, having made thirty miles in the day. Going down the last

hill we had to tie a rope to the hind axle and hold the stage. We found that the miner and his partner had been in for two hours.

The man who keeps the ranch and ferry at this place is named Cummings. We left the stage here, and made a scow to go down the river. We were three hours in making it, but after we were through could not find a piece of lumber more than four inches wide to make a paddle of.

December 2.—We started down the river this morning. When we had gone a few miles we found the Okinakane frozen. After dragging the boat across several short stretches of ice to open places, and floating down them, we came to a field of ice that stretched as far as we could see. We got out of the boat and began to drag it. The ice was very rotten, and we were in constant danger of breaking through. After a while an Indian rode up and said the ice was five miles across. So we pulled the boat on shore, and struck for a ranch that was in view. We found it occupied by an Irishman and his numerous family, wife and eight children. They were all living in a log cabin of one room with a dirt roof and floor. We took dinner with them, and then started for the next ranch, L.'s, about a mile away. We hired L. to haul our boat down the river or across the frozen places, intending to put it in the river and float over the open part. It was only the still and deep places that were frozen. We got him to haul the boat up to his house in the wagon that evening.

December 3.—We stayed at L.'s last night, and started down the river with the

boat and ourselves in the wagon this morning. It snowed last night and continued to snow and blow hard all day. We found three open places in the river in which we put our boat, taking it out and putting it in the wagon when there was ice, and late in the afternoon arrived at L.'s, a trading store for the Indians, situated three miles from the mouth of the river. The river is open and deep from here to its mouth. The distance from C.'s, at the mouth of the Salmon river, to L.'s, at the mouth of the Okinakane, is twenty-one miles.

December 4.—We stopped last night at L.'s. We gave our scow to the man in whose wagon we brought it to this place. We do not know how to get away from here. N. has gone down to the mouth of the river to see if he cannot hire an Indian and ponies to take us to W.'s ferry or Fort Spokane. We should like to get to Fort Spokane so as to make a boat to come down the Columbia in. If we conclude to build a boat, we want to run from Fort Spokane, the nearest point to Spokane Falls, down the Columbia to the mouth of the Okinakane, and up that river. It snowed hard all day yesterday, and there is nearly a foot of snow on the ground. The sun came out bright this morning, and we shall have to guard against snow-blindness.

Later.—N. hired an Indian to take us from L.'s to W.'s ferry. He came with four ponies and two saddles. We borrowed a saddle from L., so that we each had one to ride. The Indian rode bare back. It began to snow as we were starting and snowed hard all the way over. We left L.'s about half-past twelve

and arrived at the ferry about four o'clock. The distance is eighteen miles. The trail goes up a long distance from the Okinakane, till you begin to go down to the Columbia.

The table-land is destitute of timber, but is covered with tall bunch grass. The Columbia and all the other streams are cut down from the level ground several hundred feet. We made the distance, considering the roughness of the trail, and that it was covered at least eight inches by snow, in very good time. The Indian took the lead and we followed Indian file. If the ponies had belonged to me, they should not have been ridden so fast. When we got to the ferry, the Indian took his horses and started up the river. He had to go at least ten miles further or camp in the snow.

December 5.—We stopped at W.'s ranch last night. We met a hard lot and witnessed a fight, one man pounding the stage-driver over the head with a revolver to enliven the evening. We started this morning with a horseman in his wagon for K.'s store. The wagon was covered and we had quite a comfortable ride.

December 6.—We stopped at P.'s, thirty miles from the Columbia, last night, and went this morning to K.'s store. Here L., one of our party of three, left us on his way to St. Paul. N. and I hired a buckboard of K. to take us to Fort Spokane.

December 7.—We stopped at B.'s, on Halleck's creek, last night, and concluded to build our boat for descending the Columbia here. We went this morning to the Indian agency to see the doctor,

and took dinner with him. After dinner we went back to B.'s to build our boat.

December 9.—We started down the Columbia river from B.'s to-day at eleven o'clock, and are now in the boat. B. would not let us pay him for the lumber to build our boat, nor for our board during the time we staid with him. He had got out the lumber for a boat for himself, and we used that lumber. We were strangers, but his father lived in my native town thirty years ago. N. built quite a nice boat in a little over a day.

December 10.—We stopped last night at K.'s store, on the Columbia, and came down the river to ——'s ranch, forty-five miles, to-day. Four miles above ——'s there are very swift rapids. I do not think a boat could run the rapids without a line. The Columbia is a very rapid, clear and deep river. The shallowest place we found in the channel was at least six feet. The river runs in a deep canyon, twelve hundred feet below the mesa, and has abrupt walls first on one side of it and then on the other. Some of these walls are a thousand feet high. The scenery would attract travelers if a steamboat were placed on the river. A photographer could get some fine pictures, and tourists would take the trip down the Columbia for the sake of the views.

In some places the river is divided into several channels by large boulders that have fallen in it, and make rock islands from twenty to seventy-five feet in size. The swift and deep river breaks against these rocks and becomes a mass of foam. It looks from the banks and above these places as if a small boat could not go

through, but we did not find them very bad, only a little rough. The river is so clear that you can see the bottom where there are twenty feet of water. We have passed over at least two rapids that a steamboat would have to line over, but only for a short distance, as an eddy runs up the shore nearly to their head.

——, at whose place we are staying, has a man to cook and attend to his store, but does not furnish beds for his guests. Everyone who travels in this region must carry his own bed or he will be likely to sit up more nights than he sleeps. —— has built a wagon road to the Salmon river mines and has a ferry over the Columbia. Every team that crosses the Columbia has to pay him from \$1.50 to \$2.50 each.

His ranch is so situated that all the travel to the mines has to stop at his place. He is a typical frontiersman, rough in manners and speech, but generous and kind-hearted, and never lets a man go hungry from his ranch. He is married to a squaw. The Indians of this territory are more civilized than any I ever met. Most of them live in a cabin in winter, and have herds of horses and some cattle. There is a number of stores all over this country for the Indian trade.

December 11.—We left ——'s this morning. We found the river very rough and full of bad rapids. It is impassable for a steamboat bound up, and in one place would be dangerous for it going down. At a point called Box canyon, twelve miles below ——'s, the river is gorged between two high walls of rock and runs very swift. The water boils and roars over the boulders and makes white-

capped waves four or five feet high. We let our boat drop stern downward descending the rapids, and pulled up stream at the same time, but notwithstanding, shipped considerable water and got quite wet.

At Foster's creek rapids the river is full of big boulders, with spaces of from ten to forty feet between them. The river dashes on and rushes at a great rate between these rocks. We followed the same plan in going down these rapids as at Box canyon, but had to twist a good deal to avoid striking the rocks, and did not get through without filling our boat half full of water and getting wet ourselves.

Just below Box canyon rapids we came across two Chinamen rocking out gold on the bank of the river, and thought we would have a chat with them; but they could not or would not speak much English. They wanted to know where we came from, and whether we had come over that, pointing up to the rapids. When we told them that we had, one of them said, "You no fear." The banks of the Columbia were at one time alive with men washing out gold, and it looks as if most of the bars had been worked. While there was plenty of gold it was very fine, or what is called flour gold, and such gold is very hard to sieve. The Chinamen have taken possession of the river now, and are re-washing the bars. We saw them working every few miles. It is said that they are more expert than white miners at saving this fine gold, and that they make from two to ten dollars a day.

December 12.—We stopped on the night of the twelfth at W.'s ranch, op-

posite the mouth of the Okinakane. They treated us very well. We left their ranch about nine o'clock and went down the river. The river was smooth all day. About half-past three we passed a ranch, but thought it too early to stop, and continued down further, thinking we would come to some place before dark. But we did not find any ranch, and kept on for two hours after dark. In a short time, we heard rapids in the river, and were afraid to proceed. While pulling our boat out on the bank, expecting we would have to camp in the snow, and go without our supper and breakfast—not a very pleasant prospect, as we had had no dinner—we heard a dog bark and went in the direction the sound came from.

We found a group of cabins occupied by a family of Indians. It consisted of an old man whose hair was very gray—he wore it about six inches long, and it stood up straight, and looked like a mop; a boy about twelve years old; an old squaw and two young squaws and two small children. We asked them to get us some "muck-a-muck," or something to eat. The squaws got off the benches or beds that were on the sides of the room, and started a fire in the cooking-stove. The room was lined with matting made by the Indians from rushes. After they had cooked supper they pulled a table about fourteen inches high from under the bed, and proceeded to set it, "Boston man" style, with stone china dishes, knives and forks. Then they drew up to the table two benches about six inches high, and motioned to us to sit down to muck-a-muck. After an effort we managed it, but were troubled considerably by our knees being between

our mouths and the table. On the table they put bacon, bread, potatoes, venison, molasses, sugar and coffee. The women were dressed in calico dresses, and the men had civilized clothes on. All of them wore shoes. They seemed very proud of their shoes, and were continually taking them off and putting them on. Most of the Indians still wear moccasins, even after they adopt the rest of our costume.

These Indians seem to have as good or better things around them as the average frontiersman. All of the Indians and most of the white men in this country speak Chinook. It is a very easy language (I do not know what else to call it, yet it certainly is not a language) to learn, and is used by all the people in their intercourse with the Indians. It was manufactured and introduced by the Hudson Bay company to enable them to trade with the Indians, and has spread all over this region. The Indians' own language is the worst sounding one imaginable. To hear them talking you would think they were spitting at each other instead of uttering articulate words.

After supper the old Indian took us out to another cabin to sleep. It had a stove, in which he built a fire, chairs, beds and a sewing-machine in it. The old man sat down before the sewing-machine and made it buzz, and seemed to be highly delighted with the noise. They call this or any kind of a machine "chick-chick." There were two clocks hanging on the wall side by side, and keeping different time, and neither of them right. They kept them wound up, but did not seem able to tell the time. The sewing-machine

was more for ornament than for use. All their rooms had board floors, good doors and windows. None of these Indians could speak a word of English. The old man said he was a "big chief," and had been to Washington a year or so ago. I suspect this was not true, as all Indians like to make out that they are chiefs. One of the squaws was married to a "Boston man"—the name the Indians have for an American. The name American is used all over the West Indies and Canada, as well as in this country, for a citizen of the United States. This squaw had two half-breed children, and was now at home visiting the old folks.

December 13.—We left the Indian's place this morning. The two young squaws wanted to go down the river with us to the place where the eldest one lives with her white husband. We had quite a boatful with the two squaws, two half-breed children and ourselves. The squaws were dressed very much like other women, only in very bright colors, but they had the baby tied Indian style to a board. They seemed to know the river very well, and were particular to point out the smoothest water. The oldest child, about two years of age, seemed not at all afraid, and to enjoy watching the water boil and break into eddies. We took them about ten miles down the river and then put them out on the bank. The married squaw carried the baby, while the other squaw slung the older child on her back with her shawl, and they started off to walk two miles through the snow to "Sam's house," or the husband's ranch.

We then went two miles further down to a place where there is a steam ferry

across the Columbia. The men who ran the ferry were camped in a tent on the bank. We took dinner with them. After dinner a team came along bound for Ellensburg, and we left our boat and went in the wagon five miles down the river to A.'s. These people have a cabin of one room, in which they live and keep a hotel ranch. The cabin is unfinished, has no doors or windows in it and is not chinked. The family consisted of an old man, who was sick, and a young man and his wife and baby. The place is miserably cold.

December 14.—We left A.'s this morning, and traveled along the Columbia river for fourteen miles. N. and I got out of the wagon and walked to the bank of the Columbia at a point over Rock island rapids. We had been told that it would be impossible to go over them in our boat, and were surprised to see they were not worse. We had gone over several rapids that were much rougher. We left the Columbia at Rock island and rode up the hill to K.'s, twenty-one miles from A.'s.

December 15.—We left K.'s this morning. The road goes over a mountain, and N. and I started to walk. The snow was eighteen inches deep on the summit. We walked for fifteen miles—seven miles up a steep hill, six miles across the summit with the snow above our knees. A man does not know how hard it is to walk in deep, soft snow till he has tried it. The last two miles, the road was down a very steep, icy hill, and we went down very fast. Here the team overtook us, and we rode to U.'s ranch. The U.'s have led a life full of adventure. They left Ohio at the close of the war with their large family of

children, and moved all over the west in a wagon. They went through a number of Indian scares and all the hardships such a life entails, camping out in winter, often with but little to eat, in a country full of wild animals and wilder men. The youngest of this family was an amusing character. He sat in a corner behind the stove, with his chair tilted back against the wall, and usually said very little, but when he did join in the conversation, shot out some smart, impertinent remark, which was received with roars of laughter by the dozen men and women who were crowded into the small room, one of three of the same size, which were all that the house contained. The family had lived on the ranch a short time, and knew few people, and as everyone was invited to the school-house to make arrangements for a Christmas tree, they concluded they would attend the meeting and get acquainted with their neighbors. They took a couple of lanterns and started, leaving N. and me alone in the house. In about an hour they came trooping back. They said the people at the school-house were the shyest folks they ever met. No one came up to speak or shake hands with them, and when the committees were appointed none of their names were mentioned. At last the wit of their family got up and moved that Christmas be postponed two weeks. Then the whole of the U.'s, eight in all, left, taking their lanterns with them and leaving the meeting in the dark, as there were no other lights in the house. We left U.'s the next morning and rode to Ellensburg. The remainder of our journey was by rail.

During this trip, we ran the Columbia

river, in a boat fourteen feet long and thirty-six inches wide, for over two hundred miles, and had a scow ten feet long and three feet wide when we went down the Okinakane. I would have enjoyed my journey somewhat more if it had been summer, but I enjoyed it very much as it was. There is an excitement that is very pleasant in running rapids in such a big river as the Columbia.

THE MAKING OF PENNSYLVANIA.

ALL of the states in the American universe were made at once, so far as their boundaries were concerned, except Pennsylvania. It was built up piecemeal, a bit at a time, during a period extending from 1684 to 1792, when the final piece was added. Pennsylvania, it is true, had a royal charter from Charles II., dated in 1681, defining its boundaries east, west, north and south, and Penn, to whom the charter was granted, could legally have taken possession of it and established colonies all over it, if he had chosen; but he adopted an entirely different policy. The royal charter granted him the right of eminent domain, but the title to the land he held was in the Indians, and he would not colonize an inch of it, nor allow it to be colonized, until the Indian title was extinguished. His heirs, known historically as "the Proprietaries," nominally adhered to this policy, but not with the scrupulous honesty of William Penn. In one instance, at least, that of the "Day's Walk" purchase, the Indian title was claimed to have been extinguished by a dishonest trick; and in all the purchases accomplished subsequent to those made by Penn himself, the proprietaries winked at, although they did not permit, settlements made by emigrants *before* the purchase, the Indians submitting to the purchase then, from necessity and not from choice. They sold what they found they could not hold. The prices paid, too, were trivial, the Indians taking what was given them, because they could not help themselves. Still, the proprietaries adhered to the end to Penn's policy and sold lands only after they had bought them, or claimed to have bought them. The civil jurisdiction of the colony extended only as fast and as far as these several purchases from the Indians extended. Pennsylvania, as "a geographical expression," covered three degrees of latitude and five of longitude, but her civil jurisdiction, in fact, covered only the territory acquired from the aboriginal holders.

The original charter to William Penn, granted by Charles II. in 1681, defined the boundaries of the colony as follows:

"On the east by the Delaware river from twelve miles' distance northwards of Newcastle town unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude if the said river doth extend so far northward, but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the

said river so far as it doth extend ; and from the head of the said river the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the said forty-third degree, the said land to extend westward five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the eastern bounds, and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from Newcastle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limits of the longitude above mentioned."

The only lines of all those above mentioned that remain to-day, as named in 1681, are those of the Delaware river and the circle "twelve miles' distance from Newcastle." The northern, southern and western boundaries had all to be changed in a spirit of mutual accommodation. The northern boundary was fixed at 42 degrees instead of 43 degrees in 1789 ; the southern boundary was fixed by the Mason and Dixon line, in 1767, in the line of 39 degrees, 43 minutes, 18 seconds instead of 40 degrees, and the western boundary on the line of 3 degrees 30 minutes longitude west of Washington, which was five degrees west from the Delaware river where it crosses the forty-second degree of north latitude. If the charter line has been followed five degrees west, "to be computed from the eastern bounds," the western boundary would have had to follow the various sinuosities of the River Delaware.

Fortunately the final arbiters had better sense. The southern boundary, as run by Mason and Dixon in 1767, was approved by King George III. in 1769, but was not finally settled until after Governor Dunmore's flight, during the Revolution, had left the way open for Virginia to give up his preposterous claim to all of western Pennsylvania "west of the Laurel hill."

The celebrated "Elm" treaty, negotiated by Penn in person, in 1682, was made with the Delawares, who were on the ground and the only claimants to it, so far as Penn knew. The claim afterwards set up by the Iroquois or Six Nations, that *they* held the sovereignty over the soil and that the Delawares were mere tenants at will under them, had not then been made known. Penn dealt with the occupants of the soil as the owners of it, and the Iroquois did not put in their claim until 1736. The cession made by the treaty of 1682 included all of Philadelphia and below on the Delaware, and a portion of Bucks county above. It was a small cession, territorially, but it sufficed for all the demands upon Penn for land, then and long after.

The next treaty was made with the Delawares in 1718, September 17, shortly after the date of Penn's death. By this treaty the heirs of Penn acquired all the territory west and south of Philadelphia and that portion of Bucks already ceded west to the Susquehanna, as far up as the present southern line of Dauphin county, and southward to the Maryland and Delaware lines. This included all of Bucks

not acquired in 1682, and Montgomery, Chester, Delaware and Lancaster counties, as they now exist, and the southern part of Berks. This gave the colony a nice slice of splendid territory, the best in the state, in fact. Prior to the date of this cession, settlers had undoubtedly crept into this forbidden quarter. They were few at first, and quiet and friendly with the Indians, but the latter felt them pressing upon their hunting-grounds and gradually forcing them further westward. Complaints followed and finally the Indians, having still plenty of elbow-room northward and westward, adopted the only alternative, a treaty, and sold what was already in process of taking from them. The Iroquois, in 1736, disputed the right of the Delawares to sell this territory or even to make a treaty about it, and the proprietaries, to avoid a conflict, made a second treaty, covering the same ground, with the Five Nations, confirming the cession made by the Delawares in 1718. It was an opportunity for the Iroquois to "pinch" the Penns, to use a slang legislative phrase, and they availed themselves, to the fullest extent, of their opportunity. From this time forward all treaties were made primarily with the Iroquois. If the Delawares, or other Indians, "kicked," a timely present to them sufficed to quiet their wrath.

By the time of the date of this last treaty, 1736, settlers had begun to move over the borders of the purchase of 1718, and in one instance, at least, that of the settlers on Oley, in Berks, the connivance of the proprietary was made plain.

The blame for it was adroitly thrown off on some absent official; and the settlers being fixed on their farms, there was nothing for it but a war or another treaty. A Quaker proprietary could not go to war, hence there was another treaty, another concession of lands, and another payment in poor goods at enormous prices. The line of 1718 had extended, on the north, from the Susquehanna, below Middletown, to the line of the Black Hills, on the Delaware. By this new treaty the line was extended further north, to the line of the Blue mountains, below the Delaware Water Gap, from thence to the Susquehanna, a few miles above Harrisburg, thence across the Susquehanna, and from thence, in a curved line, to the southern boundary, or Maryland line. This added to the colony what is now known as the counties of Northampton and Lehigh, the northern part of Berks, Lebanon, the southern part of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Adams and York counties, and is chiefly noteworthy for its crossing the Susquehanna and extending the border of the colony westward to the Alleghany mountains. The settlements previously had begun to encroach up the Susquehanna and even west of it. The Indians vainly but fondly hoped to stop this swelling tide by drawing the lines at the gap in the mountains where the Pennsylvania road now crosses the Susquehanna. All beyond was to be sacred to them, and the white man was to be satisfied with the fair fields between the eastern side of the Alleghenies and the sea. But the poor Indians were judicially blind and

could not see that a mere gap in the mountains was no barrier in the way of land-hungry and Indian-hating emigrants.

In 1737 occurred the celebrated agreement out of which the "Day's Walk" purchase arose; but, although this was in itself a dirty trick, the ground claimed under it was all fully covered by subsequent purchases, and it is not, therefore, necessary to enumerate it here. It answered, at the time, as a pretext for permitting settlers to crowd in upon the good lands and to get legal possession afterwards. The line extended from Wrightsville, above Philadelphia and near the Delaware, to Mauch-Chunk, in Carbon county, and thence, in a straight line, to the Delaware.

Complaints against the encroachments of settlers beyond the lines continued to be made annually after 1736, and became so loud in 1749 that another pow-wow with the Indians became necessary. Hence another conference October 22, 1749, another prolonged drunken orgy on the part of the Indians, another string of balderdash speeches full of drunken eloquence, another lot of presents in the way of guns, blankets and coats, and another treaty, surrendering more territory to the advancing hordes of settlers. This time the line advanced northwards on the Delaware to the mouth of the Lackawaxen, and thence by an oblique line to the Susquehanna, above the mouth of the Juniata. This added what is now the counties of Pike, Monroe, Carbon, Schuylkill and the northern part of Dauphin. The savages still jealously hung onto the Juni-

ata valley as a favorite hunting-ground, but foolishly surrendered the approaches to it. The whites already had ravenous eyes set upon it, and it is not long after that we hear of settlers having crept in. The proprietaries were complained to, and they sent in magistrates to dispossess the intruders; but immediately there follows a complaint that the magistrates thus sent to oust the intruders had themselves turned land-thieves and taken up choice spots for settlement. The magistrates knew, if the Indians did not, that

"The good old plan,
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can,"

was a safe one for them to pursue. It was only a question of time when another treaty would be made for the possession of what was thus stolen in advance.

And this was not long in coming. In 1754, on July 6, an agreement was made with the Iroquois, which was confirmed in 1758, extending the line of 1749 across the Susquehanna, westward to the Allegheny mountains, and thence southward to the Maryland border. This added to the colony the territory now comprised in the counties of Snyder, Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, part of Centre, Huntingdon, Blair, Fulton and Bedford counties. The Iroquois thus gave up not only their long-cherished hunting-ground on the Juniata, but extended the line on the west into the heart of the Allegheny mountains. It gave the whites easy access to the west, while apparently aiming to shut them out from it. The whites had already got into the

west over Braddock's trail, on the southern border, and now they had acquired two new trails into it, the Kittanning trail and the route over the mountains through Bedford. General Forbes was advancing over the Bedford trail to the capture of Fort Duquesne and the building of Fort Pitt, while the Iroquois were making this cession at Easton. And all this time they were clamoring that the proprietaries must keep the whites out of the west! For a far-seeing, intelligent, shrewd, keen set of schemers, commend us to the Iroquois and other Indians of that time! They were overreached and defrauded before their very eyes. But they got whisky and blankets galore.

With all these six treaties the proprietaries had got possession of but a little more than a fourth, though less than a third of the present territory of Pennsylvania, as a glance at the map will show; but they had captured the roads to the west, and were holders of the path of empire. Whether the proprietaries played for this, and had a definite end in view, or whether they simply let things drift, allowing the encroaching settlers to blaze out the routes to the west, contenting themselves with coming after, and acquiring what the Indians could no longer hold, it is impossible to say, but I incline to the latter view as most probable. The settlers, it will be seen, did not press very far north; their main course was south and west. They had made two miles westward for every mile northward. Land speculation was the great hobby of that day. Lord Dunmore had the speculative fever bad, so had George Washington; and so, I

infer, had the proprietaries. The settlers had it, too; but they had not the opportunities of the then governing class. The latter let the settlers go ahead and bear all the personal risks, and contentedly came after, "to have and to hold" all that the settlers won.

By 1768 the Iroquois had made up their minds that it was useless to try and keep the whites out of the west. They had got in and could not be driven out. Their French allies had been forced out, not only of the west, but out of the nation and out of the country, and Pontiac's conspiracy of 1763 to bring them back had been completely crushed out. There was not only a British fort, but a town, at the head of the Ohio, with a steady drift of settlers in that direction. All that was left for the Iroquois to do was to make the best of a bad situation, and accordingly we find them November 5, 1768, making a new treaty with the proprietaries. Their cessions of territory, heretofore, had been each comparatively small; now they were driven to make a large one, equal, nearly, to all the others before made. This time they ceded all the territory from the northeast corner of the state to Kittanning on the Allegheny, and thence down that river to the line, west of the Ohio, between Virginia and Pennsylvania. This cession included the present counties of Wayne, Susquehanna, (part of) Bradford, Wyoming, Sullivan, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Columbia, Northumberland, Lycoming, Union, Centre, Clearfield, Cambria, Indiana, Westmoreland, Somerset, Fayette, Greene, Washington and

(parts of) Allegheny and Armstrong. Thus, after disputing the road to the west, inch by inch, the Indians were finally compelled to surrender it, and make their final stand west of the Allegheny.

Shortly after the treaty of 1768, the mutterings of the Revolutionary thunder-storm began to be heard, and with their usual bad luck the Iroquois got upon the wrong side. They had gone in with Pontiac, in 1763, against the British and in favor of the French, and had been considerably cut down, both in numbers and fortune, by their various warlike alliances. Now, with their territory in Pennsylvania nearly all gone, with their spirit cowed and their fighting force reduced, they were about to commit the further blunder of siding with the British against the colonies in the struggle for independence. Their representative at Fort Pitt was Keyashutha, who gave notice, at a gathering in Pittsburg, when the Revolutionary war broke out, that the region west of the Allegheny was theirs, and that no white man must dare to put foot on it. He professed neutrality between the British and Americans; but he was plainly acting in concert with the British commander at Detroit, who wanted to make that city the basis of military operations in the west, and desired nothing so much as to have the road shut up between Detroit and Fort Pitt. Keyashutha tried to do this for him by putting his ban upon all military movements across the territory west of the Allegheny river. The prohibition, however, amounted to nothing. General

Broadhead traversed this "Indian country" from end to end, with his little army, inflicted heavy blows upon the Indian settlements on the upper Allegheny and returned unopposed, and without the loss of a man. Keyashutha was powerless to enforce his threats, and finally, the Iroquois came out of the Revolutionary war so depleted in numbers and resources as to present a melancholy spectacle. The fierce people that had, in 1758, at Easton, reviled the poor Delawares as "women," and as warriors who had voluntarily disarmed themselves, were now, within twenty-five years, glad to associate on equal terms with the despised Delawares, and to allow them to fight and make treaties for themselves.

But, if it was hard times for the Iroquois, it was hard times, also, for the proprietaries. The treaty of 1768 was the last work of the kind done by the heirs of Penn. When the colonies began to combine to resist British aggressions upon them, distrust of the Penns began to be shown by the Pennsylvania colonists, which culminated in 1779 in the passage of an act divesting the proprietaries of all claim to the territory undisposed of, as well as the quit-rents, but reserving all manors laid out by them from the operations of this divesting act. As the proprietaries gave up the government of the colony to the colonists some years before, but little of the vast territory acquired by the treaty of 1768 can have been disposed of by them. From 1775 the disposal of the public lands was in the hands of the colony, excepting the manors; so that

the Revolutionary war put an end to the rule of the Penns, as well as to the dominance of the Iroquois over the territory of Pennsylvania. But one act remained to be done by the Iroquois, and that was to extinguish their title, whatever it might amount to, to all the territory of the state, outside of the lines of the cession of 1768. They could not hold on to it, and the colony, soon to be the state of Pennsylvania, was willing to pay them something for what they were unable longer to keep in their own hands.

Accordingly, in 1784, a treaty with the Iroquois was held at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, New York), by which, for the sum of ten thousand dollars, the Indians agreed to relinquish to Pennsylvania their title to all the territory of that colony, as defined by the charter of 1681, not heretofore relinquished. This included the whole of the territory north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, and all east of the Allegheny river, from Kittanning upwards, not surrendered by the treaty of 1768. This final surrender embraced the present counties of (part of) Bradford, Tioga, Potter, McKean, Warren, (part of) Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Lawrence, (part of) Beaver, Armstrong, Indiana, Clearfield, Clinton and Allegheny, Butler, Venango, Forest, Clarion, Jefferson, Elk and Cameron. This left the state with three straight borders on the north, south and west, and the Delaware river on the east.

One trouble remained: the state thus bounded had no outlet on Lake Erie. The line of 42 degrees on the

north terminated at the Ohio line, leaving just a little corner on the lake at the Ohio line. This would never do. The site of Erie, always a point of prime importance in the struggle between Great Britain and France, must belong to Pennsylvania. Water communication was, at that time, and long afterwards, the main dependence for travel and transportation. All western Pennsylvania had the Allegheny and its tributaries, and the Beaver and its branches, as highways to the lake, and the natural outlet for the travel and trade over these highways was at Erie. Pennsylvania could not submit to being thus shut off from communication with the outer world. She must have a frontage on the lake sufficiently large to make her outlets to the lake safe and accessible. It would take too long to explain, here, how the triangular slip of territory between the line of 42 degrees north latitude and the lake came to belong, at this period, to the United States and not to the state of New York, to which it would seem naturally to have belonged; but such was the case, and it was fortunate for Pennsylvania that it was so. States do not willingly, of themselves, give up portions of their territory to other states, and if this slip had belonged to New York, the presumption is that Pennsylvania might have whistled for it from that day to this.

The National government, however, made no difficulty. It was a part of Hamilton's financial policy that the United States should assume the debts of the colonies incurred in the Revolu-

tionary war. In this way the general government became the debtor of Pennsylvania, and it paid a part of this debt by selling the coveted strip, so many acres, at land-office prices. The deed of confirmation was issued March 3, 1792, for 202,187 acres, for which the price charged was \$151,640.50 or seventy-five cents per acre. This must have been among the earliest transactions of the general land office.

This purchase was not accomplished in a day. It took several years to get all the preliminaries through congress, and but little time was lost between 1784 and 1792 in carrying the affair through to final completion.

Thus the state of Pennsylvania finally rounded off her proportions and assumed the shape on the map which she has occupied now for nearly a hundred years. She is no longer a mere "geographical expression," but a geographical fact. The Penns accomplished about two-thirds of this work; the remaining third was finished much sooner and better without them than with them.

Sentimentally, one cannot but heartily approve the general policy of William Penn, to give no title to any acre in his colony that had not been first bought from the Indians. He acknowledged the sovereignty of Great Britain over the colony conveyed to him by his charter from Charles II.; but the title to the land he recognized as being primarily in the Indians who occupied it. In appearance, his successors and heirs followed out his general policy: that is, they adhered strictly to the rule to buy from the Indians before selling to set-

tlers, and extended their civil jurisdiction only over what had been purchased from the Indians. But the methods by which a purchase of lands was finally brought to a consummation were often and generally reprehensible. The prices paid, too, indicated either a sharp overreaching or a conviction on the part of the Penns that the Indian title was merely nominal, and had no actual weight with them beyond its being a part of William Penn's policy to pay the Indians something for all the lands taken from them.

Notice the difference between the price paid in 1784 to the Indians for all the territory between Bradford county on the north and the Ohio border on the west, including twenty counties and millions upon millions of acres, and the price paid the United States for the triangular slip of a part of Erie county. For the twenty counties and the millions of acres the Indians got \$10,000, while the triangular slip cost \$151,640. The price paid the Iroquois was \$500 for a county; that paid to the United States would have amounted to about \$200,000 for a county. The difference is accounted for by the variance in the character of the titles held by each. The United States had an absolute title, the Iroquois had but the shadow of a title. It was a title no court of that day would have recognized, and may be said to have been not merely a shadow, but the mere shadow of a shade.

It is correct to say, then, that Pennsylvania has adhered, from the start, to the policy of its founder, and bought every acre of its territory from its aborig-

inal possessors. Under the charter of King Charles, Penn could, if he had been so disposed, have landed at Philadelphia, established his colonial government, and proceeded forthwith to occupy the soil as fast as he could put settlers upon it. That was the course pursued in other colonies. The natives would have been forced back as the whites advanced, and where the crowding was strongest collisions would be sure to occur. These would be followed by bloodshed, and that by governmental interference, so that in the end it would have cost the colony as much, if not more, to fight its way as to buy it. As a mere question of policy, then, the course pursued by Penn was the cheapest as well as the fairest. Pennsylvania, it is true, did not escape bloodshed; but bloodshed was the result, not of the policy of the proprietaries, but of departing from it. The restless settlers who got beyond the purchased bounds of the colony were those who felt the bloody hand of the Indians falling upon them. It was the attempt of the whites to settle in and occupy the west before it had been bought from the Indians, and of the traders to trade there, that provoked the slaughters that redden the history of the western part of Pennsylvania. The original Quaker policy, rigidly adhered to from the start, would have prevented all this.

There is one feature of the case which Penn did not take into the account, nor any of his successors: the effect upon the Indian mind of the gradual but steady enlargement of the white settlements. Even where the land had been bought and paid for, this steady press-

ing on of the settlements alarmed the Indians. The settlement at Philadelphia did not alarm them, but the advance to the Susquehanna did; and when the line crept up and beyond that river, the alarm grew general and widespread. Every effort was made by the Indians to stop this steadily rising tide, but no effective barrier was ever found. When, finally, the Indians were crowded out of Pennsylvania altogether, it is no wonder that their consternation drove them into the Pontiac combination of 1763. The price paid them for the soil of Pennsylvania shut their mouths from the utterance of any complaint about its occupancy by those who bought and paid for it; but no amount of purchase-money could reconcile them to being banished from the soil that gave them birth. Penn, it is clear, could not have foreseen the consequences that have flowed, within two hundred years, from his landing at Philadelphia and the making of the treaty negotiated under the spreading branches of the elm with the ignorant and improvident Indians.

Such, then, was the way in which Pennsylvania was made. It began on a strip along the Delaware and gradually spread to the Susquehanna. Piece by piece and bit by bit were added until it grew northward, up both the Delaware and Susquehanna, then other pieces were added, and it grew westward to the mountains; other pieces were patched on, and it grew west to the Allegheny and Ohio rivers; and finally it absorbed all within the limits of the original grant, and was ticketed and pigeon-holed away as "bought and paid for."

RUSSELL ERRETT.

HONORABLE H. A. W. TABOR, EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR, AND
EX-LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF COLORADO.

EVERY historical reference to the public life and services of ex-United States Senator Tabor very naturally and properly begins with his dramatic entry thereon as a member of the famous Topeka legislature of Kansas, in 1857. Then follows the pleasurable task of turning almost every page of the history of Colorado, and studying the annals of Denver, a city seemingly as dear to the heart of the ex-senator as Oxford and Ipswich were to Wolsey. He is one of the very distinguished few who both found and constitute a state.

Horace Austin Warner Tabor was born November 26, 1830, in Orleans county, Vermont. His father, Cornelius Dunham Tabor, who recently died in Denver, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, was of English descent. The Tabor family of England were long seated at Rochford Hall, Essex, whence came the founders of the American branch to New England during the early settlement of this country. His mother, Sarah Farrin, was of Scotch extraction.

Young Tabor spent his youth and early manhood upon his father's farm and in Massachusetts, mainly employed in cultivating the soil, until 1855, when he resolved to leave the old homestead in the pent-up hills of Vermont, which seemed to confine his powers, and where "the hard, dull bitterness of cold" winter weather clothes the hills and

valleys with snow more than half the year, for the sun-bright plains of Kansas and the further west. Here he found an ample field for the exercise of those faculties of mind and powers of physical endurance with which nature had generously endowed him, and which rendered him one of the most remarkable of self-made men in this or any other age.

"It would indeed be hard," says a well-informed writer, "in the annals of American history to trace a character which has made a stronger imprint, not alone in Colorado but throughout the United States, than that of ex-Governor Tabor. He is a man born to rule; to undertake anything, with him means to succeed. Of iron will and indomitable energy, still pleasant, friendly and approachable to all, he stands in the very forefront of self-made men."

THE TOPEKA LEGISLATURE.

The first appearance of Senator Tabor in public life, as intimated, was as a member of the Topeka legislature, Kansas, in 1857, which President Pierce ordered dispersed by military force. The troops were in line, the artillery in position and the fuse lighted ready for the final order. Colonel E. V. Sumner, commanding, said, "Gentlemen, this is the most painful duty of my life, but such are my orders and I shall obey



J. M. Huber

them. Disperse you must." They dispersed. Governor Tabor thus took his first rude lesson in politics as a Free-soiler. He graduated a Republican. His devotion to that party ever since has been as unflinching as the light of the North star.

One of the pleasing reflections of Governor Tabor concerning that event, is the fact that when the war for the Union came, of which the Topeka affair was an admonition, Colonel Sumner, as a distinguished major-general, commissioned by President Lincoln, was found fighting the battles of his country, himself a conspicuous foe of the very institution which had threatened the life of Tabor and his compatriots for their efforts in behalf of free soil in Kansas and what is now Colorado. Along with this reflection comes the thought, as a shadow, that the loyal general lost his own life in that relentless war for slavery.

A BUSY YEAR.

Four years after locating in Kansas he pushed out into the Rocky mountains, spending his first winter in Denver in 1859. The next spring he located in California Gulch, now Leadville, where he first engaged in mining, continuing, with varying success, until 1865, when he opened a store as a merchant, thus combining mining industries and merchandising until 1878. "This year," (from October, 1877, to October, 1878) says the ex-senator, "was the busiest of my life." And it was the most eventful. He was postmaster of Leadville, made the race successfully twice for mayor—to fill a vacancy and a full

term; was president of the Leadville Improvement company; established and managed the Leadville bank; was elected treasurer of Lake county; the Little Pittsburg mine was just blossoming into its enormous output, of which he had the whole management; was also in charge of the famous Chrysolite mine, and made a successful canvass as candidate for lieutenant-governor of Colorado.

UNITED STATES SENATOR.

A local historian says:

"In October, 1878, Mr. Tabor was elected first lieutenant-governor of Colorado, an office which he held in a manner suitable to its dignity and to the honor of the state. As president of the senate he proved himself a thorough parliamentarian, and one of the best presiding officers that has ever guided the deliberations of that body. In 1883 he was elected United States senator for the short term, and though seated but a short time in our National halls, he showed conclusively his fitness for the position, and it is a matter of genuine regret that he has not continued to represent the state in the senate from that day to this. His recent election, however, as permanent chairman of the State Republican convention and to the still more responsible position of chairman of the state central committee, is a tardy but deserved recognition of the services and capacity of one of the best Republican workers in the state. It is a well-known fact that Senator Tabor always contributed more liberally of his means to insure the

success of his party than any other citizen of the state. Mr. Tabor has had detractors, but with a magnanimity that does him high honor, he has ignored them. He has bided his time, and is now reaping the revenge that time always gives to the great and noble spirit over the small and mean. The late Honorable Jerome B. Chaffee was for many years the acknowledged leader and organizer of the Republican party in this state. Chaffee is dead, and his mantle could not have fallen upon worthier or abler shoulders than upon those of Senator Tabor, the man who stood next to Chaffee as an organizer, and who has done more to develop the material interests of the state and to beautify its capital city than all the other would-be leaders of the party put together. Senator Tabor is the acknowledged head of the Republican party in this state, and there is no doubt but the people of the state will ere long call him to a higher, if not more honorable, position than the mere leader of the Republican party."

When Denver was struggling to be a city and the leading capitalists hesitated to invest large sums of money in fine business blocks, Governor Tabor came forward, and with his usual courage and confidence in the great future of the town, erected the buildings which are still the finest in the city, and which gave it the impetus that has made it a metropolis. The Grand Opera house in particular has been the admiration of tourists from all over the world since its completion, and has advertised Denver

more than any other feature the city possesses.

MINING OPERATIONS.

The greater part of Senator Tabor's fortune has been acquired in the purchase and operation of mines, requiring a strong nerve, excellent judgment and great faith in the richness of Colorado's mineral deposits. Besides his valuable mining properties in Leadville, he has a number of others in various parts of the state, including the Tam O'Shanter group at Aspen. He also owns the famous Vulture mine in Arizona, one of the greatest gold-producing properties in the country, and is interested in a number of mines in Old Mexico. His judgment in investments in this class of property is almost unerring. During the last year he has turned his attention to Boulder county, and taken hold of the resources of that region in a manner that brings it still more prominently to the front as an important mining centre. His investments there have directed the attention of capitalists in this country and Europe to that rich mineral country. The great Poor-man mine, in which the Tabor Investment company is interested, is now paying five thousand dollars per month in dividends, from development work simply, without touching the vast deposits of ore which are being blocked out. Lately this company has also started up the celebrated Ni Wot mines in Ward district, Boulder county, and will also take a hand in developing properties in other counties. Certainly

no man is doing more to develop the resources of the state than Tabor.

Although making such extended investments in mines, with the result of inspiring confidence in the material resources of Colorado, and attracting other capitalists to the new state, he has not confined his attentions to mining interests alone, but he employed a portion of his wealth in permanent improvements in both Leadville and Denver, owning in the latter city alone about two million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of real estate, including the two blocks which are known the country over as models of beauty and excellence. His investment, comprising one hundred and seventy-five thousand acres of copper land in the state of Texas, promises him a future income beyond calculation. Another investment illustrating his sagacity and keen business judgment is the four million six hundred thousand acres of cattle grazing lands in southern Colorado.

FRIEND TO THE PROSPECTOR.

He was always the steadfast friend of the prospector and miner, and stood ready to give them credit. It was this trait which led to the discovery of the Little Pittsburg mine, in May, 1878, by August Rischie and George F. Hook, to whom Governor Tabor had furnished provisions and mining implements on credit, upon condition that he should be entitled to one-third of the discovery. Mr. Hook soon after disposed of his interest to his partners, and Mr. Rischie sold to Honorable J. B. Chaffee and D. H. Moffat, jr.

In 1879 Mr. Tabor disposed of his interest to Messrs. Chaffee and Moffat, and then purchased the Matchless mine at Leadville, and about one-half of the stock of the First National Bank of Denver.

DECISION AND KINDNESS OF CHARACTER.

His decision of character, quickness of perception and promptness of action mark his every movement. He no sooner decides than he begins to act. To illustrate: The transaction above alluded to, wherein he disposed of his interest in the Little Pittsburg mine for \$1,000,000, bought 880 shares of stock in the First National Bank of Denver, and at the same time purchased the Matchless mine at Leadville for \$117,000, took place in the short space of fifteen minutes. In politics Senator Tabor has always been loyal to his party and friends and giving of his means freely to help both, cheerfully withdrawing his own claims to preferment whenever such a course seemed best in the interest of common accord. Mild-mannered, affable, sincere to friendships and ever considerate, he is indeed a phenomenal illustration of what is possible where honesty, capability and earnest endeavor is the actuation of a Western American.

OFFICE AND RESIDENCE.

Let the reader visit the office of Senator Tabor. He will be found at his desk, busy with his multiplied affairs, and yet ready at all times courteously to receive you. Upon every hand, load-bearing tables and filling shelves, may be

seen samples containing precious ores. Now, these ore specimens and his frequented office are in the Tabor Grand Opera House building. The discovery of that mineral wealth led to the building of this lyric temple, the reputation of which is world-wide. The first was the result of years of indefatigable labor, receiving, at last, its sure reward; the latter was the evidence of the public spirit and munificence of its owner and builder.

The following sketch of this famous building is taken from the *Rocky Mountain News*:

"The handsomest, coziest and most convenient opera house in America stands at the corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets. It was erected in 1880 by ex-Senator H. A. W. Tabor, at a cost of \$850,000, and is a monument of architectural taste and beauty. It has a front of 125 feet on Sixteenth street, and 200 feet on Curtis, and is constructed of brick, with stone trimmings. It contains several large stores on the first floor, and 112 offices. The opera house has a seating capacity of 1,500, and from every seat in parquette, dress circle, balcony and gallery a complete view of the stage can be obtained. The proscenium and fashion boxes are models of comfort and elegance. The finishings of the entire house are in solid cherry, with the richest of hangings, draperies and carpets, neither pains nor expense having been spared in its furnishings. The stage arrangements are as perfect as money and ingenuity can make them, and its dressing-rooms are the delight of all actors."

Denver is the Washington City of the

west. Some of its avenues—Lincoln, Sherman, Grant and Colfax—are more remarkable for their "magnificent distances" than any that may be seen in Washington. One may stand upon Grant avenue, and, looking north, see in direct line Long's Peak, and to the south Pike's Peak, each nearly one hundred miles away. Many of her homes will not suffer in the least by comparison with the costliest upon famous Massachusetts avenue. Bear in mind that all this has been wrought since 1858, when the site of Denver was the tenting-ground of the Arapahoe Indians.

Senator Tabor's homestead, upon Capitol Hill, affords one of the grandest views that can come within visual range—two hundred miles, from north to south, of the Rocky mountains—the scene of his early, and at last successful struggles in the battle of life. His ample grounds occupy a half-square, with Grant avenue upon the east and Sherman upon the west. Full-grown and maturing trees—the ash, maple, elm, spruce and cotton-wood—cast their shade, in leafy times, upon a wide-spreading lawn. Vines climb and conceal, almost, its surrounding porches and bay-windows. Evergreens and flowering shrubs and plants abound, with statuary and miniature fountains between. As it stands upon this commanding eminence, in the midst of this cultivated forest, adorned by works of art, it is, as to spaciousness, embellishment and location, the Central Park of Denver, while as an entirety it is the stateliest and most beautiful residence in this city of homes.

POLITICAL SPECIALTIES.

Touching Senator Tabor's political specialties, but two or three may be mentioned. He believes in protection to American industries from ocean to ocean; in the unlimited coinage of silver, and has closely at heart the project of securing a National soldiers' home, to be built somewhere in this glorious climate. Certainly nowhere in the Union would veteran soldiers rather spend the remnant of their lives than in the midst of this mountain scenery, bathed in its almost endless sunshine, breathing this life-prolonging atmos-

phere. Their sacrifices saved not only these teeming and picturesque valleys, but the mountains themselves, with their vast and exhaustless riches. How proudly the flag they carried to victory floats to-day from the summit of Pike's Peak—fourteen thousand feet above the dome of the capitol of the Nation, lost to sight almost in

“The incommunicable blue of heaven,”

where all its fixed stars were born—the last to dawn upon its azure field, symbolizing the *silver* state of Colorado!

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

AN EPISODE OF POLITICS.

A PREVIOUS number of this magazine contained an article on the formation of the Republican party, by Russell Errett, in which he briefly referred to its primary organization — the “Free-soil” party, 1852. On reading that article I resolved to write an appendix, to give some additional facts that I thought would be interesting and make the history more complete for future reference. But on commencing it I felt constrained to say, in Mr. Errett's own words: “Even I, who was a part of it, had got other events so inextricably mixed up with it in memory, that the original record, when consulted, scattered to the winds many things I would otherwise have put forward as trusty recollections.” And besides that, I failed to find some of my original written and printed records; consequently I cannot,

with certainty, give all the dates and connections of the facts I intended to give. The Free-soil party was the successor of the “Liberty party,” of which James G. Birney was the candidate in 1844. The first Free-soil candidate was Martin Van Buren in 1848, but in the same year John P. Hale received many votes from the Liberty party, who would not vote for Van Buren.

In 1851–2 I was publishing a weekly paper in Cleveland, in which I advocated, to the best of my ability, the right of all men “to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” In August of 1851 I published an editorial article proposing a convention of anti-slavery men in this city in the following month, which resulted in such an informal convention in “Kelley's,” afterwards “Empire” hall. Although a

small convention composed principally of anti-slavery men of northern Ohio, there were some of a National reputation present, and among them were John P. Hale, Gerrit Smith, Cassius M. Clay, George W. Julian and Salmon P. Chase. The object of the convention was to consider what course we ought to pursue in view of the aggressive policy of the southern slaveholders, and the abject servility to them of northern "dough-faces," of both Whig and Democratic parties, as under the administration of Taylor and Fillmore the Whig party quite beat the Democratic party in the passage and enforcement of the infamous "Fugitive Slave law," which practically gave unheard of power to slaveholders in the free states, rendering every man liable to service in a United States marshal's posse for capturing fugitive slaves. I closed my article with two lines of the old patriotic song, slightly changed so as to read :

"Still the star-spangled banner triumphantly waves
O'er the land of the free and three million of slaves."

The result of that preliminary convention was another one at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, that was as nearly National as we could make it, held a few months later, at which John P. Hale of New Hampshire was nominated for President and George W. Julian of Indiana for vice-president. A large number from Cleveland and vicinity went to that convention by the then new railroad, and at Alliance, which then consisted mainly of a small, rough board depot and a similar eating-house, kept by an old fogey named Daniel Sour-

beck, among our company was a colored man, and when we went in for dinner he, of course, went with the rest. Just before we commenced eating the proprietor discovered the colored man and ordered him away from the table. We indignantly protested against his order and in favor of equal rights for all men who behaved themselves properly, regardless of color. But he insisted on his legal right to do as he pleased in the case, and to his great surprise, when the colored man went, we, to a man, went too, leaving him to dispose of his dinner—for he had provided for a large crowd on that day—as best he could, and figure up his profit and loss account. I carried a banner that was printed at Smead & Cowles' job printing office, two years before the *Cleveland Leader* had an existence. It was in the largest wood type in their office and was a reproduction of the one I carried four years before, when Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate for President, visited our city. The motto was : "No Compromise with Slaveholders or Dough-faces." When I carried it into the vast crowd in the Masonic hall the cheering was tremendous for several minutes. I evidently had struck the key-note of the convention. The thirty-six years since that time have effected great changes in our Nation for the better, and still there is a wide margin for further improvements that time and the intelligence and patriotism of our citizens will be sure to accomplish.

H. M. ADDISON.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AGE, DECEMBER 16, 1888.

ON the date above mentioned, just past, Mrs. Margaret J. Mitchell of Cleveland, Ohio, completed her one hundredth year and entered upon a second century of existence. This is no case where an ambitious imagination has added years where nature has not furnished them, as the date and place of her birth are well known and have been repeatedly authenticated.

She was born in Georgetown, Maine, on December 16, 1788, and her maiden name was Stinson. She was married to Charles Cutter Mitchell when about twenty years of age. She made her home for many years in Portland, Maine, where she was closely identified with many good works. She was connected officially for a time with the Old Ladies' home, and served for over fifty consecutive years as one of the directors of the Protestant Orphan asylum. She was also a member of Dr. Payson's church, that celebrated its centennial on September 3, 1888. Mrs. Mitchell removed to Cleveland in 1879, her son, A. R. Mitchell, having, before his death, been the president of the Woodland Street Railroad company. About eight years ago the aged lady dislocated her hip, and has never taken a step from that day. Her general health is good, her mind clear, and her memory unusually good for one of her age. A gentle, cultured and pleasant-voiced lady, she sees a few friends, and when in the mood talks often of the past. The Cleveland *Leader*, in recording the above

facts, added the following comments: "It is not often that life's severest trials come after ninety years of almost unbroken prosperity. But such has been the case with Mrs. Mitchell. In her ninetieth year the son who had walked with her in a relationship which united the cherished companion and trusted adviser with the loving son passed away. It became advisable to remove from the old home in Portland, and Mrs. Mitchell, at ninety years of age, severed all the ties that bound her to her native state, and traveled a thousand miles to take up her residence with her daughter in Cleveland.

"But in spite of all the afflictions Mrs. Mitchell has preserved her cheery spirit, and as late as yesterday said: 'I do not feel any older than I did fifty years ago.'

"Speaking of her aged mother-in-law, Mrs. A. R. Mitchell said: 'Mother is rather hard of hearing, but her eyesight is remarkably good for one of her extreme age. She has always been a great reader and reads as much now as her eyes will allow her. She is fond of following the events of the world she has seen developed so marvelously during her century of life, as it is unfolded from day to day. She is quite a politician and the Washington news is the first thing she turns to. Her interest in the last campaign was intense, and no lady in the land was more enthusiastic over the election of General Harrison than she.'

"Here the reader has a picture of a woman who, born before the first Presidential election was held, is rejoicing over the result of the last. She was a girl of twelve when George Washington died, a miss at school in Boston when John Adams returned after his Presidential term, a wife and mother before the War of 1812, a matronly lady when she saw General Lafayette in Portland, and threescore years old before the blue coat and buff vest of Daniel Webster ceased to be a familiar sight in the chief cities of New England. In short, a lady who has seen the invention of the cotton-gin, the steamboat, the locomotive, the telegraph, the telephone and the modern newspaper come into existence is to-day interested in the audiphone and the chances of aerial navigation. She has followed as a woman of education and culture the rise, development and decision of all the political questions of this century, and now is ready to express an opinion in the light of her experience on the annexation of Canada."

THE BAR OF OMAHA.

II.

FOR nearly thirteen years after the settlement of the city no railroad reached it from the east. The homesick emigrant toiled sadly with his team or rolled slowly in the stage-coach across the billowy prairies and muddy bottoms of Iowa. Some, however, preferred the monotonous trip up the Missouri in the frail stern-wheel steamers of the day, the length of the voyage depending on the stage of the river, the skill of the pilot and the luck of the boat. The financial depression which followed the panic of 1857 and the outbreak of the Civil war interfered greatly with the growth and development of Omaha. The prospects of the legal profession in these days were not bright. Many adventurous spirits tired of the irksomeness and want of variety in their lives, and escaped from them to Pike's Peak and the Pacific coast, or sought excitement in the stirring scenes of battle. Still from time to time during those years a lawyer wandered out to this new and unknown region, and either growing speedily disheartened with the prospect before him soon found his way home again, or captivated with the life and climate concluded to cast in his lot with the struggling denizens of the frontier city. Of the former class were the late ex-President Arthur and his partner, Henry D. Gardiner, who spent some time in the city without finding encouragement to establish themselves

permanently; also ex-Judge Conkling, the father of the late distinguished senator of that name, who practiced his profession in Omaha for several months before he discovered that his advanced age, his previous habits of life and the refined associations of his old home had unfitted him for the petty strifes, the wild, irregular practice and the freedom of manners which he found here. Among the latter were many names still honored and respected throughout the state, such as those of George B. Lake, for seventeen years justice of the supreme court of the state; George W. Doane, now judge of the district court; John I. Redick, afterwards a territorial judge in New Mexico; the late John R. Meredith, Honorable Charles H. Brown, B. E. B. Kennedy, Clinton Briggs, who at the time of his accidental and lamented death* was a prominent candidate for the seat in congress now occupied by Senator Manderson; Chief-Justice Daniel Gantt, James G. Chapman, the late Senator Phineas W. Hitchcock, who practiced his profession in 1860, and George I. Gilbert, who was prosecuting attorney in 1861.

Remarkable among them, and noted

* On a trip eastward in 1882, he was missed by his fellow-travelers, and found dead on the track, having been run over by the train. Whether the accident was caused by sudden dizziness or a misstep will never be known.

all over the state, as he would have been in any western commonwealth, was William A. Little, or, as he was universally called, Bill Little. Coming to the territory in 1856, from the state of Illinois, he took from the first and kept a place in the front rank of the Omaha bar. Genial to a fault, of winning manners, familiar with all classes, careless in his attire, with superabundant energy and vitality, the idol of his clients, whose causes he made his own, possessed of a ready and fascinating eloquence, keen wit and charming conversational powers, he captivated juries and bewitched the younger members of the bar, who looked up to him with fond admiration. For years after his death his influence among the latter could be perceived in a studied negligence of dress and violent, sometimes grotesque gesticulation in their speeches. At the election of 1866, in anticipation of the admission of Nebraska to statehood, he was chosen chief-justice. It is doubtful if his habits of mind and life, or his legal attainments would have enabled him to maintain his reputation in this exalted position. But the rough life of the frontier and the temptations to which his generous nature exposed him proved too trying to a constitution never very strong, and he died early in the year 1867, before he had taken the oath of office.

Another brilliant meteor which shot across the firmament about this time and speedily disappeared beneath the horizon was Milton H. Parks. He was a young man, indifferently educated, not deeply versed in legal lore, and of pronounced convivial habits; yet those who were here in 1867 remember to this day the florid and effe-

vescent eloquence of his address to the jury in the defence of one Otway G. Baker on his trial for murder in the first degree. It was a marvelous exhibition of skillful rhetoric. The tones of his voice were peculiarly musical, his words well chosen, his illustrations pertinent and his power over a jury marked and evident. But his career virtually began and closed with that single speech, and the extravagant and erring spirit soon betook himself to other fields, leaving behind him only the memory of his solitary effort.

The fixing of the initial point of the Union Pacific railroad, by President Lincoln, at a point "on the western boundary of Iowa, east of and opposite to the east line of section ten in township fifteen, north of range thirteen, east of the sixth principal meridian," was the first act which promised permanence to Omaha, and the digging of the first spadeful of sand on the river bottom in the prosecution of that adventure was the signal for a gradual increase in the values of real estate, which has continued, with but temporary interruptions, to the present day. The somewhat vague and contradictory wording of the President's proclamation left a doubt whether the eastern terminus of the road was to be in Iowa or Nebraska, and some years subsequently gave rise to litigation which was finally settled by a decision of the supreme court of the United States, declaring Council Bluffs, in Iowa, to be entitled to that valuable distinction. The actual commencement of the road, however, was at Omaha, and for four years it pursued its way up the Platte under adversities, perplexities, tribulations and disappointments which might well have

appalled its projectors. Every pound of material and supplies had to be brought to Omaha by way of the tortuous and capricious Missouri ; its route lay through what was then thought to be an uninhabitable wilderness, infested by hostile tribes, and yielding nothing for the support of man or the construction of a road ; and envious rivals north and south were eagerly pushing towards the hundredth meridian in the hope of becoming entitled to the subsidy promised by government to the corporation which should first reach that coveted point. When the authentic narrative of that gigantic enterprise comes to be written, the historian will dwell more largely on the sublime faith and courage of its promoters and more leniently on their errors and transgressions than competitors and demagogues will now allow him to do.

In the year 1867 three circumstances combined to give Omaha an assured growth, and to point to it as a desirable spot for the emigrating lawyer : the Union Pacific had reached and passed the hundredth meridian, and thus insured the aid of the National government towards its completion ; the Chicago & Northwestern railroad had pushed its way across the state of Iowa, reaching the Missouri river at Omaha, and on the first of March Nebraska ended its era of pupilage and became a state. Any one of these events would have assured a rapid growth to a city so eligibly situated as is Omaha. Coming together they produced an influx of inhabitants which was limited only by the capacity of the city to house and feed them. Thousands unable to find sustenance or shelter pushed on to

less crowded places. These places soon themselves felt the inflation, and the wave rolled on, rising and falling, till it reached the Pacific.

The following are among the names of attorneys admitted to practice at the term of the district court held in Omaha on the sixteenth day of April, 1867, being the first term held after the admission of the state : Henry G. Worthington, George W. Ambrose, Champion S. Chase, James W. Savage, Charles W. Monroe, John P. Bartlett, William L. Gross, Milton H. Parks, Albert Swartzlander and John C. Cowin.

Omaha in the summer and fall of 1867 was a busy hive. Buildings of all sorts and values were rapidly rising on all sides, streets were laid out, grades established, manufactories started, public improvements gotten under way and new industries of all sorts begun. The sound of the hammer and the saw never ceasing by day, the thronged streets, the heaped-up masses of building material, the trains of wagons loaded with merchandise might well have recalled Virgil's stirring description of the building of Carthage, if anyone had had leisure in the midst of the turmoil to recall early studies or classical authors :

Instant ardentē Tyrii : pars ducere muros,
Molirique arcem, et manibus subvolvere saxa ;
Pars optare locum tecto, et concludere sulco.
Jura magistratusque legunt, sanctumque senatum.
Hic portus alii effodiunt : hic alta theatris
Fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
Rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris.

Whenever a city starts with such vigor and grows with such rapidity there will be litigation, and Omaha was no exception to this rule. Numerous questions of prac-

tice had to be settled; all legal points upon which state tribunals have differed in opinion had to be taken to the supreme court for an authoritative exposition of the law. The license and freedom of a frontier city produced their usual result; crimes of violence and assaults were of frequent occurrence. It was a fact worthy of notice that the meaner crimes—burglary, pocket-picking, injuries to women and the like—were comparatively unknown. Such offenses seem to require a higher degree of civilization for their development than is usually afforded by a newly gathered community. The first term of the district court under its new dignity as a state tribunal opened with a criminal docket comprising three cases of homicide and a very promising array of assaults with deadly weapons, and it was several years before this average was seriously diminished.

The case of *Smiley vs. Sampson*, which arose out of a preëmption in what is now the northern portion of the city, was investigated and argued before different state and United States tribunals ten times before the supreme court of Nebraska finally awarded the coveted land to the plaintiff. The litigation gave fortunes to at least two attorneys engaged in it, and echoes from the heated conflict are still occasionally heard in our courts.

The leaders of the Omaha bar in those days were, by common consent, A. J. Poppleton and James M. Woolworth. The latter still holds the place to which his learning, eloquence and shrewdness so long since gave him a title; and if the former can be said ever to have lost it, it is only because the acceptance of a large

salary as the attorney and council of the Union Pacific railway withdrew him for many years from the general practice of his profession.

The labors of the bar were by no means confined in those days to the city of Omaha. Whenever court was held in either Cass, Saunders, Sarpy, Dodge, Cuming, Washington or Burt counties there were the eagles of the Omaha bar gathered together. It took more than ordinary hardships or dangers to keep them at home. They traversed the prairie, they forded the treacherous Platte in their rickety buckboards and generally appeared at the opening of court smiling, happy and litigious, whether anyone else was there or not. The fifteenth of March, 1870, was the day of the commencement of one of Nebraska's most famous blizzards, which lasted three days. A session of court had been fixed for that day at Bellevue, some ten miles south of Omaha. Such was the severity of the storm that not a single juror and hardly a witness or litigant braved its fury. Seventeen lawyers from Omaha, however, appeared at the opening of court, and as no business could be transacted, had three days of enforced idleness before the tempest had sufficiently abated to enable them to take their frozen ears and chilled bodies home again.

No sketch of the bar of Omaha would be complete which should omit all mention of the name of Silas A. Strickland. He was born in Rochester, New York, and came of good family on both the paternal and maternal side, his grandfather having been a cousin of Ethan Allen, and his grandmother an aunt of Millard Fillmore. Left at an early age to make his own way in

the world, his youth was marked by all the vicissitudes and struggles which usually fall to the lot of a poor and ambitious young man. Admitted to the bar in the year 1850, his poverty would not allow him to await the slow process of alluring clients and building up a practice, and so he became by turns school-master, pay-master on the Erie canal, railroad contractor, politician and stump-speaker. He came to the territory, as in a previous article we have seen, in 1854. Here he remained until the breaking out of the war, when he entered the army as a private and left it at its close with the stars of a brigadier-general and the reputation of a brave officer. In 1867 he returned to Nebraska, bringing with him a commission as United States district attorney, which office he retained until 1871. Such are the bare outlines of a life which for many years was full of activity.

General Strickland was not a learned or even an ordinary lawyer, but he had qualities which were quite as showy and almost as effective as learning or legal skill. Generous, warm-hearted, sympathetic, genial, eloquent and witty, he rarely encountered a jury without winning them over to his side of a controversy. But his heart was never in his practice. Sweeter to him was the turmoil of the most unimportant ward primary election than the dull details of a lawsuit involving millions. Dearest by far the stump, with its wild freedom, its quick repartee and its loud

applause, than the forum, where, though he might enchant jurors, he could not always control judges. Political life was with him an inveterate habit; he could not exist away from the atmosphere of elections.

His droll sayings, the melody of his voice, the quickness of his wit and his numberless acts of generosity still survive in the memories of those who knew him, though it is nearly ten years since the flame of his life, which had always blazed too brilliantly, was extinguished.

Within the last ten years the city of Omaha has more than trebled its population. The number of its attorneys has increased in about an equal ratio. There are now two hundred and seventy-two practicing lawyers in its courts and its dockets are continually crowded. Its judges and attorneys are, as a rule, equal at least to those of much older communities. Such names as those of Wakeley, Doane, Manderson, Thurston, Poppleton, Woolworth, Cowin, are not easily confined within state limits. But whether in its stately and beautiful court-house dominating the city from its lofty eminence, there are greater manifestations of eloquence, learning, close reasoning, powerful invective or flashing wit than used to be displayed in the humble, inconvenient and ill-ventilated brick edifice which stood at the foot of the Farnam street hill until 1885, may well be doubted.

JAMES W. SAVAGE.

JAMES M. WOOLWORTH.

Among the crowd of bright and ambitious young lawyers who were attracted

to Nebraska in its early days, there was no one who has been so thoroughly identified

with the legal history of the territory and state, so constantly engaged in laborious practice and so successful in its prosecution as the gentleman whose name heads this article. Mr. Woolworth was born in 1829, in Onondaga Valley, New York. The family name is a very old one. It remains in some of the rural parts of England. In Wales is an old church dedicated to St. Mary Woolworth, and formerly there was one in London bearing the same name. In recent years it has been taken down. The name was brought to this country by two brothers, Chester and Aaron, and these have been family names ever since. They settled in Connecticut, and in the early years members of the family lived in different towns of that state and Massachusetts. The immediate descendants of Chester Woolworth lived at Westfield, in the latter state. From this branch came Aaron Woolworth. His grandson, James M. Woolworth, has his diploma from Yale college, dated 1793, conferring the B. A. degree upon him, and also his diploma from Princeton, dated in 1812, conferring the degree of D. D. He was an eminent Presbyterian clergyman. Dr. Woolworth married Mary Buel, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Buel, D. D., another eminent minister of the same faith and at one time chaplain to Washington in the Revolutionary war.

Mr. Woolworth was the second son of Samuel Buel Woolworth, LL. D. The life of this man was devoted to the cause of public education. He was a teacher in early life, and almost every town in New York sent its sons to his school, known as Cortland academy, at Homer, in that state. For some years principal of the

State Normal school at Albany, he became secretary of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York. He held this office for more than a quarter of a century, and in that and other positions did more, perhaps, for the cause of education in that commonwealth than any other one man. His name is held in Albany in most grateful remembrance.

Mr. Woolworth's mother was Sophia Meckles, who came of an old Dutch family. She was a woman of great refinement, culture and beauty. Those who still remember her delight to speak of her grace and loveliness. The son, inheriting the literary and scholastic tastes which distinguished the father, entered Hamilton college, from which institution he graduated in 1849. Betaking himself to the study of law, he was admitted to the bar in 1854, and commenced the practice of his profession at Syracuse, in his native state. But the west, with its boundless possibilities, presented too tempting a field to permit him to remain long in the city of his first adoption, and he came to Omaha in October, 1856. The following extract from an address delivered by him in 1879, before the Historical Society of Nebraska, may be to some extent unconsciously biographical. He is speaking of the tendency to emigration in English-speaking races :

"Doubtless the charm of adventure is something; the mere fact of removal is something. The exchange of familiar and therefore tame scenes and companionships for other lands, other seas, other skies and other air, strangely quickens, freshens and stimulates the pulses, sensations, thoughts, emotions and aspirations.

This is a common experience, and touching the universal fact is something; and yet it is inadequate to account for the sacrifice of so much that the heart loves and for the endurance of so much that the heart revolts from.

"The American has certain qualities of the Roman of ancient and the Briton of modern times—tenacity of purpose, love of dominion and an aggressive egotism. Like them he is fitted by nature for foreign enterprise. And these qualities with him are enlivened by vivacity, sensibility, emotion; he, far more than they, delights in adventure. The risks, the struggle, the promise, the freedom of colonial life have for him, even more than for others, a charm and an attraction." . . .

In Omaha, Mr. Woolworth took, at the very outset of his career, a leading place in the administration of the law, which he has maintained to the present day. One controlling element in his success has been his entire devotion to his business, and the firmness with which he has resisted all the allurements of political life and the temptations of public office which a new country holds out in such profusion to young men of ability. With the exception of a seat in the state legislature at one session (perhaps hardly to be considered an exception), all the offices held by him have been directly in the line of his profession. Thus he became the first city attorney of Omaha soon after his arrival, was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1871, became the candidate of the Democratic party in 1873 for the office of justice of the supreme court, was one of the first regents of the high school, a trustee of Racine

college in Wisconsin and of the female seminary in Omaha known as Brownell hall.

None of these positions have been allowed to interfere with Mr. Woolworth's entire devotion to the interests of his clients; and it may truthfully be said of him that no attorney in the state of Nebraska has represented so many and such varied interests, and has been employed in so many and important lawsuits, as he. It is not too high praise of him to say that no other person in the state has taken so large a part in shaping its jurisprudence and establishing its procedure. Students of 'Nebraska Reports' cannot fail to notice that there is hardly an important case reported in the first volume of the series in which Mr. Woolworth was not engaged on one side or the other. And the variety of questions argued is no less remarkable than their number. In *Mattis vs. Robinson* the law of landlord and tenant was discussed; the *City of Brownville vs. Middleton and Miller vs. Finn* involved important questions of practice; *Smiley vs. Sampson* and *Towsley vs. Johnson* were cases in which the laws of the United States relative to preëmptions were passed upon; *Bradshaw vs. the City of Omaha*, *Poland vs. O'Connor*, *Sands vs. Smith*, the *Columbus company vs. Hurford* and *McAusland vs. Pundt* required the investigation and decision of multifarious questions relating to contracts, real estate, agency, specific performance, practice, taxation, constitutional interpretation and others; in all of which, Mr. Woolworth's ability, learning and close study are conspicuous.

Still more convincing evidence of his

industry and thoroughness is to be found in the 'Reports of the United States Supreme Court' for the past twenty-five years. To the bar of that court he was admitted in 1862, and since that time has argued more cases before it than any other counsel west of Chicago. Some of the leading ones, involving questions of first impression, are as follow : Sampson *vs.* Smiley, 13 Wallace, 91 ; Johnson *vs.* Towsley, 13 Wallace, 72, both on the law of the public lands ; Flagstaff Mining company *vs.* Tarbet, 98 United States, 463, on the law of mines and the location of mining claims ; Union Pacific railroad *vs.* Durant, 95 United States, 576, on the law of trusts and the fiduciary relations of corporation officers ; Wardell *vs.* Union Pacific railroad, 103 United States, 651, on same subject ; Walden *vs.* Knevals, 114 United States, 373, on the law of land grants to railroad company ; Union Pacific railway *vs.* Penniston, 18 Wallace, 5, on the taxation of road-bed of company ; Hunnewell *vs.* B. & M., 22 Wallace, 465, on taxation of lands granted by United States to aid construction of railroads ; United States *vs.* B. & M., 98 United States, 334, construing grants to railroads ; Union Gold Mining company *vs.* Rocky Mountain National bank, 96 United States, 640, on the corporate powers of National banks ; Lamasters *vs.* Keeler, 123 United States, 376, on the extent to which state laws are adopted into the practice of the Federal court.

The great diversity of his professional engagements is shown by a singular circumstance. Within a period of ten days he argued before the supreme court at Washington the case of the Union Pacific

Railroad company against Penniston ; before the United States circuit court at Omaha the case of Hunnewell *vs.* The Burlington Railroad company, and of Wade *vs.* The Omaha Hotel company ; and before the territorial court of Utah at Salt Lake the case of Davis *vs.* The Flagstaff Mining company.

A life of such laborious effort will never be complete and healthy without abundant recreation. This Mr. Woolworth finds first, in literary studies and pursuits, and second, in his thorough devotion to the Episcopal church. Chancellor of the diocese of Nebraska, for nearly thirty years a vestryman of Trinity, a lay delegate to the general convention of the church, member of the committee on revision of the liturgy, he is, by common consent, the most influential and useful layman that that church possesses in Nebraska. Mr. Woolworth was chosen in the vestry of Trinity church at its first Easter election in 1857, and with brief intervals remained a member of it until the summer of 1885, when he resigned. For seventeen years of this time he was its senior warden, and took upon himself the active care of its affairs. During his term of service the parish was elected into a cathedral, the principles and the details of the larger organization having been formulated by him.

He has been greatly consulted by the bishops of other dioceses in the organization of their cathedrals. During his service as senior warden of Trinity, the present cathedral structure was erected. He had more to do with the work than any other person. Every one of the beautiful articles of furniture with which

the church is filled were designed by the architect under his eye, and many of their striking features were his suggestions. He and his immediate family contributed to it a number of beautiful memorials. He erected the altar and reredos to the memory of his first wife. The panels of the altar are five in number and are filled with bas-reliefs in bronze, illustrative of scenes in our Lord's life. The bishop's throne and the annexed stalls, and the dean's and canon's stalls, were gifts of members of his family.

His work on 'The Cathedral in America' is a charming contribution to a subject but little understood outside of the pale of the church, and his occasional addresses upon matters of Episcopal polity are replete with profound learning and interesting information. His addresses, essays and lectures upon general subjects have been very numerous. Beginning in 1856 with a hand-book of Nebraska territory, his last work was an address before the American Bar association, at its annual meeting in Saratoga, in 1888, when he chose for his theme, "Jurisprudence Considered as a Branch of the Social Science." Between these dates he has written, compiled and published books and articles upon many topics. Among them may be mentioned the first two volumes of 'Nebraska State Reports,' two volumes of 'Circuit Court Reports of the Eighth Judicial Circuit of the United States,' addresses before the State university, the Bar Association of Nebraska; before the Nebraska State Historical society, on "The Philosophy of Emigration;" before his *alma mater*, Hamilton college; before the Iowa University Law school, the Iowa

State Bar association and at the commencement of Hobart college. He is now understood to be engaged upon the biography of the late Rt. Rev. Dr. Robert H. Clarkson, bishop of the diocese of Nebraska, whose long and successful career among the people of the state, whose generous and tolerant religion, graceful scholarship, quick sympathy and unselfish love for mankind will furnish a fitting theme for his appreciating pen.

In the year 1875 Racine college conferred upon Mr. Woolworth the degree of LL. D. His style is concise, scholarly and polished in a high degree. His arguments in equity cases and before appellate tribunals are marked by profound learning, extensive research and logical arrangement rarely surpassed by counsel. Books are his delight; his law library is extensive, and especially rich in the works of English authors and reporters, while his collection of miscellaneous books comprises many rare editions, illustrated treasures, splendidly bound copies of English and American classics. His extensive practice in cases involving immense property interests, with corresponding emoluments, together with the rise in value of Omaha real estate, has assured to him a comfortable fortune, which his generous mode of living and his profuse benefactions to charitable objects have never been able to seriously impair. He has been twice married—his first wife having been Miss Helen M. Beggs of Syracuse, New York, and his second, who still graces his home, Miss Elizabeth S. Butterfield of Omaha. Of these unions three children survive. His large practice and engrossing cares have not debarred

him from the enjoyment of cultured society. In his elegant residence on St. Mary's avenue he has long exercised and still indulges a refined hospitality, which is alike alluring to the transient guest and to those who enjoy the privilege of his constant companionship. He enjoys the

early history of Nebraska. In the hall of his residence is a large mantel made of brick, stone and wood taken from public buildings, all long since extinct, which were built before or shortly after the territory was organized.

JAMES W. SAVAGE.

JOHN M. THURSTON.

The subject of this sketch was born in Montpelier, Vermont, on the twenty-first day of August, 1847. His family, on his father's side, was descended from John Thurston, who came from Suffolk, in England, and settled at Dudham, Massachusetts, in 1636. There were three Thurstons who arrived in New England at about the same time and are supposed to have been brothers. From them have descended almost all of that name now living in the United States.

His mother's name was Ruth Mellan. Her family originally came from Ireland. They were among the first settlers of what was then known as the "Hampshire Grant," which is now the state of Vermont. His grandfather, John Mellan (after whom the boy was named), and his brother Thomas were in the battle of Bennington, under Stark. His grandfather Thurston was in the War of 1812, and his father was also in the Revolutionary war.

The name of John's father was Daniel Sylvester Thurston. He was one of a large family born in Orange, Vermont. One of his brothers, Elisha Thurston, worked his way through college, took up educational pursuits, was professor in different colleges, and at one time was state

superintendent of instruction in Maine. About the time of the commencement of the Kansas troubles he moved to Kansas, engaged in the practice of law, was very active on the side of the "Free-soilers," and at the time of his death was mayor of Manhattan, Kansas—that was about 1860.

The father of John was, for the most of his life, a farmer. For a few years prior to his leaving Montpelier, where he was living, as we have seen, when the son, John Mellan, was born, he was engaged conducting a tannery, and for some two or three years was a member of a mercantile firm. In 1854 he moved to Madison, Wisconsin, residing there for about four years, when he removed to Beaver Dam in that state. He was a man of very strong natural ability, taking a very active part in all public affairs; and is said to have been a very forcible and direct speaker, although he rarely took part in public discussions. On the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion he enlisted in the First Wisconsin cavalry. He was at that time fifty-four years of age. His enlistment was as a private soldier and was made prior to the organization of the regiment, but with the understanding that he was to receive the appointment of regimental

wagon-master. Before the regiment left the state, however, he received a commission as second lieutenant of the Seventeenth Wisconsin infantry — generally known as "the Irish Brigade"—and assisted in recruiting a company for that regiment. Prior to its leaving the state the regiment went into winter quarters, late in the fall of 1861, at Madison, Wisconsin, and was there overtaken by severe storms before it was provided with the necessary shelter. Owing to this exposure he was attacked with congestion of the lungs, and just before the regiment left the state he was carried to his home at Beaver Dam on the supposition that his illness would be necessarily fatal. One of his last acts before being taken home was to sign his resignation so that an active officer could be appointed in his place to take the field.

Recovering from his illness in the summer of 1862, the father again enlisted in the First Wisconsin cavalry as a private soldier, and with his regiment participated in its campaign against the guerillas of Missouri, until the spring of 1863, when he was brought back from the Missouri wilderness in a dying condition, living only a few days after reaching home. His family at that time consisted of three married daughters, the son, John Mellan, and a younger sister who soon afterwards died. The mother was left almost wholly without means and John was soon compelled to commence working on his "own hook" in order to help her and himself.

John took up almost anything he could find to do to make fair wages. Every summer from the time he was fourteen years of age until he was twenty-two he

worked through the Wisconsin harvests, and during the fall went as one of the hands of a threshing-machine, being employed at about thirty dollars a month.

During the winter of 1865 he was in Chicago; he was then seventeen years old. He went there to accept a place as driver of a horse and wagon for the wholesale fruit and fancy grocery store of Matthew, Groff & Co., then located on South Water street, just west of Clark. He received ten dollars per week, out of which he paid his board, but after working a year he discovered that he was no better off than when he commenced, except for the fact that he had a new suit of clothes, which he did not have at the commencement of the year.

He then returned to Beaver Dam and for three winters engaged in fishing through the ice, employing a number of boys to fish for him on shares, he furnishing the necessary outfit, and he also drove a team over the lake twice a week, buying up fish, all of which he shipped to the Chicago market and did quite a profitable business, one winter clearing nearly a thousand dollars. During this time he attended the public schools of Beaver Dam a part of the year and found no difficulty in keeping up with his classes, although the greater portion of the year he was out of school.

After his return from Chicago in the spring of 1866, he left the public school and entered the institution at Beaver Dam then known as "Wayland University," and which, at that time, had a full preparatory and collegiate course. This was a Baptist institution, kept alive by the Baptist Society of Wisconsin, and

was, in fact, a very good school. He remained in this institution until it was discontinued on account of failure of funds. This was in the summer of 1868. He had managed to attend school about half of each school year, and had kept up with his classes while out, so that at the time the "University" broke up he was within one year of completion of the full collegiate course. This ended his school education.

When the school closed the young man entered the law office of E. P. Smith, an eminent attorney of Wisconsin, now of the Milwaukee bar, but who was, at that time, practicing in Beaver Dam. On the twenty-first day of May, 1869, he was admitted to the bar after examination in open court by the Honorable Alva Stuart, circuit judge in Portage, Columbia county, Wisconsin.

After being admitted to the bar, Mr. Thurston worked through the balance of the summer, first taking a contract to put up several miles of board fence on a large farm near Beaver Dam. As soon as the harvest opened he worked binding grain through the harvest and then got ready to start for the west; but he knew no one in all the western country. He took the map, looked it all over, and for a long time his choice wavered between Kansas City and Omaha. He finally decided in favor of the latter place, largely for the reason that it was in the state from which it seemed perfectly evident its business was largely to come, while Kansas City was in the western part of Missouri, where its commercial and other relations would necessarily be more identified with Kansas affairs.

Mr. Thurston arrived in Omaha on the morning of October 5, 1869, together with Herman E. Luthe, now a successful attorney of the Denver bar, it being their design to commence the practice of law together. It is generally the popular belief of young attorneys that they ought to associate themselves together when they go into a new place for the purpose of commencing the practice of law. At the time they reached Omaha, Mr. Thurston had about forty dollars left after having paid his expenses to that place. The very first day of their arrival he walked into the justice's office of William H. Morris, now judge of the Fifth Nebraska district, and asked him if he knew of a place where two young lawyers could get cheap office room. Mr. Morris said he did not, but that they could put up a desk in his office if they wished and were willing to pay ten dollars a month for the privilege. Mr. Thurston immediately paid him the ten dollars out of his forty, and they moved in an old desk which had been shipped so as to be in Omaha by the time of their arrival. Then, theoretically, they commenced the practice of the law. This was in a large room in the old Visscher block, where the Millard hotel now stands. This room was occupied by Judge Morris as a justice's office, by William Kidd as an employment office, and by the law firm of "Thurston & Luthe."

But the young lawyers very soon discovered that where there is not business enough for one to live on two must necessarily starve if they attempt to divide it between them; and Mr. Luthe, who had married a wife just before leaving Wiscon-

sin and brought her with him, quit the practice temporarily and went to work in the Union Pacific shops as a machinist. The law firm was thereby dissolved, and Mr. Luthe, after working through the winter, sent his wife back to Wisconsin while he "went west" to Denver, where he eventually succeeded in taking high rank in his profession.

Mr. Thurston stuck to his office both theoretically and in reality, sleeping on the floor of the office nights, and using for bedding some bed-quilts and a buffalo robe which he had brought from home, and which in the morning were rolled up and hid away in the corner of the office. During this time, as Judge Morris will very vividly remember, he was reduced to the necessity of living for many considerable intervals of time on the satisfactory but not varied diet of crackers, which he felt very lucky in being able to buy from time to time by the box at wholesale price from the grocery store of Burleigh, then in Caldwell block.

He struggled along with the varying success attendant upon the similar efforts of other young men in the profession until the fall of 1871, when Judge Morris resigned his position as justice of the peace and Mr. Thurston was appointed by the county commissioners of Douglas county to fill the vacancy. In the meantime Morris and he had removed to Caldwell block, where they had an office consisting of two rooms instead of one; and after Mr. Thurston's appointment as justice the situation was reversed: the last-mentioned filled the judicial chair, while Morris took possession of the law office.

Mr. Thurston continued to practice law

and ran his office as justice until about the spring of 1873, when he resigned to form a law partnership with Honorable Charles H. Brown. In the meantime, in the spring of 1872, he was elected member of the city council of Omaha from the Third ward, which position he filled for two years, being chairman of the judiciary committee of the city council and acting president of the body.

In the spring of 1874, at the expiration of his term as alderman, he was appointed city attorney by the then newly elected mayor, Honorable C. S. Chase, which position he filled until the summer of 1877, when he resigned it to accept the position of assistant attorney for the Union Pacific Railway company, under Honorable A. J. Poppleton, general attorney of the same. On Christmas day, 1872, Mr. Thurston was married to Martha Lydia Poland, a most estimable lady, daughter of Colonel Luther Poland of Omaha. His wife's family were also from Vermont, her father's brother having been the late Honorable Luke P. Poland, who was for many years chief-justice of that state, also United States senator and representative in congress for many years.

The first child of Mr. and Mrs. Thurston, a son, Charles P., was born February 7, 1874; the second, a son, Frank P., was born August 4, 1877. They both died of diphtheria in the early winter of 1880, after an illness of only a few days. The third child, and the eldest now living, was born on the twelfth day of March, 1880, named Clarence Luther Thurston. There are also two daughters; one, Grace P., was born April 20, 1883; the other, Jeanne M., was born August 23, 1885.

For the past twelve years Mr. Thurston has been prominently connected with the greater number of the most important cases tried in Nebraska. Early in the spring of 1877 he was employed by the governor of Nebraska, under an act of the legislature, authorizing him to employ an attorney for the purpose of prosecuting in the case of the State of Nebraska *vs.* Ira P. Olive in what was known throughout the west as the "great man-burning case." Olive and others who resided in Custer county were charged with having taken Mitchell and Ketchum and having hung them in the wilderness of that unsettled country, and they were found not only hung, but burned up as well. The trial created great excitement at the time, and was participated in by the greatest lawyers of the state. The cattlemen of the west took up the matter for Olive, and for a long time there was great excitement and grave apprehensions that there would be a bloody time at Hastings, where had gathered hundreds, even thousands of cow-boys, many supposed to be from Texas, for the purpose of rescuing Olive and his associates. Mr. Thurston was given the post of honor in the trial and made a closing argument for the state. Olive was convicted of murder in the second degree and sentenced to the penitentiary for life. He afterwards was released on decision of the supreme court to the effect that the laws had been so "bungled" that prosecution for crime committed in Custer county could not be had in any other county, and there was no provision of law for prosecution in Custer county.

Among other notable trials in which

Mr. Thurston has participated was a case prosecuted in York county, where two persons were arraigned for the killing of William H. Armstrong. This was a case attended by the most romantic circumstances. It grew out of a runaway match between one of the defendants and the daughter of William H. Armstrong, deceased. The trouble took place in the presence of the young woman, who was at the same time the daughter of the man killed and the wife of one of the men who participated in the homicide. Mr. Thurston was leading counsel for the defence, and after a most exciting trial the defendants were acquitted. The somewhat noted Henry Clay Dean was brought into the state by the friends of the deceased and conducted the prosecution.

Mr. Thurston has also taken a leading part in a number of other more or less celebrated murder trials in Nebraska, and together with Honorable James W. Savage defended John W. Lauer, whose trial in Omaha, some two years since, for the killing of his wife, is still of recent memory.

Since accepting the position of general attorney of the Union Pacific Railway company, the duties of which office Mr. Thurston assumed on the first of February, 1888, he has retired from the general practice of the law, as the business of this system, which is now all under his supervision, occupies his entire time and attention.

In 1880 Mr. Thurston was one of the Presidential electors from Nebraska and was electoral messenger. In 1884 he was delegate-at-large to the Republican National convention held in Chicago, and was chairman of the Nebraska delegation

at that convention. He participated in the debates of the convention and seconded the nomination of John A. Logan for vice-president.

Of the last Republican National convention (that of 1888) Mr. Thurston was a member. "Mr. Thurston," says a recent published statement, "has long been known as an able lawyer, but it was not until the assembling of the late Republican National convention in Chicago, when he was made the temporary presiding officer, that he achieved a National reputation as an impressive orator. His speech delivered upon that occasion was one of great power, and elicited rapturous applause from the vast multitude present. Indeed, he was accorded at its close an ovation such as few speakers ever receive. He has a strong, clear, penetrating voice, and every word is uttered with the utmost distinctness, and at no time is there any hesitation in his speech for the want of a proper term to express his meaning. His command of language is very unusual, while grace and polish mark every sentence. Added to these accomplishments is a splendid presence, which at once stamps him as a man of much more than average character, and as a leader of men instead of a follower.

"The record Mr. Thurston has made thus early in life is one not often met with. He has not attained his present great legal eminence on account of favoring circumstances, but it is clearly the result of natural ability and close application to his profession. While he has always taken an active and personal interest in political affairs, he has been thoroughly devoted to the law, and has made everything else

subordinate to its pursuit. . . . During the recent political campaign Judge Thurston appeared in various parts of the country in the interest of the Republican party, and everywhere met with a cordial reception from the people, and strengthened his great reputation as an orator. On the night of Wednesday, October 17, he addressed the largest audience ever assembled in Chicago up to that date to listen to a political speech. Five thousand ladies and gentlemen were crowded into Battery D, and for two hours he held the vast assemblage as eager listeners to his splendid eloquence. The verdict of the Chicago press was that Judge Thurston has but few equals in this country as a finished orator."*

Mr. Thurston's family and ancestors have all been firm believers in the orthodox religion. He is not a member of any church organization, but is a very earnest believer in the general tenets of the Christian faith. Two years ago, at the Chautauqua assembly in Crete, Nebraska, he delivered an oration during the day set apart and called "Lawyers' Day," on the subject of law and religion, in which he took the strongest possible ground in favor of the Christian belief, which asserts the existence and unity of God, the resurrection and immortality of the human soul and the atoning power of our Savior's crucifixion.

There is at present quite a movement on foot, originating with Mr. Thurston's friends in Nebraska and in many other states and territories, to secure

* See *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, for November 10, 1888.

him an appointment in the cabinet of President Harrison. He has, however, declined to take any action with respect to this matter and is not a candidate in any sense of the word, and of course he is not looking forward to that or any other political preference.

In the fall of 1875 Mr. Thurston was nominated by unanimous choice as the Republican nominee for judge of the Third judicial district of Nebraska, in which district Omaha is situated, but was defeated at the polls by Honorable James W. Savage by a small majority. The subject of this sketch is generally called "Judge." This is not because he ever held a judicial position, but it is presumed his friends thought when Judge Savage got the office that his opponent was at least entitled to be called by that brevet name.

It hardly need be said that Mr. Thurston is a lawyer of the first-class. In consultation he withholds his opinion until in possession of all the case, and he has looked at it from every side. He quickly comprehends the views of others and approves of them generously or calmly develops his objection to them. He does not indulge in much debate. Having reached his own conclusions he expresses himself shortly and decisively. His power and skill in the trial of cases to juries are remarkable. He sees the case in all its aspects, appreciates the character of the witnesses and how their testimony impresses the jury. His examination and cross-examination of witnesses is direct, simple and fair. A willful witness soon

finds that a firm, quiet hand is upon him, and he soon yields to its moral power. In his addresses to juries, when there is occasion, he is impassioned and persuasive, displaying the most efficient power of the real orator. For this service he has a genuine fondness. However severe the strain, he delights in the exercise of this power as well before the numerous assembly as a jury of twelve men.

He is very frequently called upon to speak in behalf of public charities and interests, and before moral, social, literary and political societies, and responds with pleasure, and always delights and instructs. Among his fellow-citizens throughout the state, but especially in the city of his home, he is held in the highest esteem as well on account of his elevation and simplicity of character as on account of his generous public spirit.

A manly, loyal, affectionate spirit, he enjoys to a most remarkable degree the devoted love of his friends. They are many who are willing to administer to his fortunes. Besides these multitudes there are some who are nearer to him, whom circumstances or personal relations have brought into the inner circle of his affections, whose devotion is never weary or relaxed.

It is most reasonable to expect that Mr. Thurston—still a young man—will fill one of the high places in the land. If he does he will bring to the service of the country a loyalty, a devotion, a wisdom, whose value is above riches.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

WILLIAM J. CONNELL.

Intelligence, energy and perseverance constitute the capital of many young men of our country who start in life otherwise comparatively poor. Although unaided by wealthy friends or relatives, they make their way by progressive steps until frequently fortune and fame await them. They are self-made men, and are to be found in all large communities. One of these is William J. Connell, a resident of the city of Omaha. He is a Canadian by birth, having been born in Cowansville, Province of Quebec, about thirty miles from the northern boundary of Vermont, on the sixth of July, 1846.

The father of William—the Rev. David Connell—was a Congregational minister, who, in the year 1856, after doing efficient work at Cowansville in the little church there founded by him, removed with his family to Schroon Lake, a small but beautiful town among the Adirondacks, in the northern part of the state of New York. Here the subject of this sketch—the eldest of the minister's family of eight children—spent his boyhood days, attending school and enjoying the hunting and fishing for which that country is famous. At the age of seventeen years, after having received an academic education, he obtained a clerkship in a large grocery house at Springfield, Massachusetts, where he was employed for two years, when he went to St. Johnsbury, Vermont, to take charge of and close out the mercantile business of one then lately deceased. This occupied his time and attention for about a year, when being seized with the "western fever," he purchased a ticket

direct to Omaha, where he arrived on the tenth of April, 1867.

The young man did not go west to squander his time. He was willing to do any kind of honorable labor, and gladly accepted a position with Tootle & Maul, a dry goods firm. However, routine work in a store proved rather irksome to one having an ambition for a higher calling. He sought, therefore, a more intellectual field, finally deciding to read law. He began the study first in the law office of B. E. B. Kennedy, afterwards continuing his reading with Champion S. Chase and subsequently with J. M. Woolworth, in Omaha, being admitted to the bar in 1870, and engaging thereafter in the practice of the law in the same city.

In 1872 Mr. Connell was elected district attorney for the Third judicial district of Nebraska, which then comprised ten counties, including Douglas and Lancaster, and was reelected in 1874. As prosecuting attorney, he was efficient and successful, and he made for himself a record of which he has good reason to be proud. Retiring from his office, he devoted himself to his profession generally, in which he proved as capable as he had been in the prosecution of criminals. He was appointed in April, 1883, city attorney of Omaha, and held the office for four years. At the time of his entering upon this office, Omaha was commencing a general system of public improvements, involving the levying of special taxes to a large amount. This met with strong opposition even from prominent property holders, though it is now difficult to realize

that fact. In those days much depended upon the character of the man who accepted the place of city attorney. A narrow-minded man would have committed the public interests to a narrow-minded policy, from the effects of which the city would not have recovered for years, if at all. Fortunately, Mr. Connell was the opposite. Energetic, enterprising and of broad views, he was the very man for the place, and the transformation of what was really a village into the city is due, in a large measure, to his influence. He saved Omaha hundreds of thousands of dollars by his successful defence of suits for damages, and by his sound legal advice on important questions. He mastered all the details of the city government, learned its needs and what was necessary to give it progressive tendencies. Through this experience he obtained the requisite information which he had incorporated into a new charter under which most of the public improvements which have wrought such wonderful change in the city have been made.

Mr. Connell takes a comprehensive view of every subject presented to him, and is recognized generally as a man of generous ideas and an uncompromising believer in the great future of Nebraska. His distinguishing trait at all times, whether in office or out, is his vigilant protection of the rights of the people as against the encroachments of corporations. Gas companies, railroad corporations and all similar institutions were compelled by him during his term as city attorney to pay due homage to the law, and through his exertions on many occasions rights of the public, which otherwise would have

been wrested from them, were preserved and corporate intriguing baffled. In these efforts he has convinced everyone that he was sincere. Evasion of the payment of taxes by railroads, unauthorized construction of their franchises, giving them rights not granted, and such invasions of the people's reserved rights have been combatted by him.

On the twenty-fourth of September, 1872, Mr. Connell was married at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, to Mattie Chadwick. They have had five children—Helen, Ralph S., Karl A., Marion and Hazel—all of whom, except the first mentioned, are living. The home of the family—"Hillcrest"—is one of the most beautiful and sightly in Omaha. In his business undertakings Mr. Connell has been very successful, accumulating a handsome fortune, but at the same time, he is a public-spirited and liberal man. He has advanced steadily in his profession, until he is now ranked among the foremost members of the bar in Omaha and in the state.

Mr. Connell, in politics, is a Republican. "His reputation is that of a persistent fighter, whether in the practice of his profession, or as the leader of a political faction, or as the champion of any cause in which he may be interested." As a parliamentarian, he has few superiors.

In the fall of 1888 he was nominated by the Republican Congressional convention of the First congressional district of Nebraska, as candidate for congress, and was elected by a plurality of 3,407 over his Democratic competitor. In view of the fact that the First district, composed of eleven counties, two years before gave the Democratic candidate for congress

over 7,000 majority, this may be properly called a political revolution. Mr. Connell's constituency, comprising 66,057 voters, numbers not less than 365,000

people. This is one of the largest constituencies any man has ever represented in the lower house of congress.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

JAMES WOODRUFF SAVAGE.

The subject of this sketch comes of a distinguished historical family. The name was brought to this country by his paternal ancestor, Thomas Savage, who landed from England in 1630, and afterwards married Faith, daughter of Anne Hutchinson. The name of this woman is familiar to every reader of colonial history. She was the famous religious enthusiast who founded the Antinomian sect of New England. On her mother's side she was a second cousin of the poet Dryden. In 1634 she came to Boston, Massachusetts, to enjoy the preaching of John Cotton. Here she instituted meetings of women for the discussion of doctrinal questions, and her influence created a powerful faction and led to public disturbances. She was banished to Rhode Island and afterwards removed to New Amsterdam, where she was murdered by the Indians in 1643. Very eminent men of that day, among them Sir Henry Vane and John Cotton, were favorably inclined to her doctrine. Those who are curious to know more of her than can be given here, will find a brief notice of her in 'Bancroft's History,' Vol. I., pages 388-91.

We have not space to trace the descent of the name through generations always distinguished in the annals of

New England. The father of our subject was Rev. Thomas Savage, a minister of the Presbyterian denomination, who died in Bedford, New Hampshire, in 1866, having been pastor of the church in that place for forty years.

Judge Savage was born February 2, 1826, in Bedford, New Hampshire. His early life was passed in a farming community. Its quiet and simple conditions were favorable to the formation of an ingenuous character. At the same time they were not rude. In the home of his youth there were the gravity of a minister's household, the sober faith and devout life of Christian parents, and the books and the learning and the culture of educated gentle people. The seeds then planted have borne good fruit.

In September, 1841, James entered the Phillips Andover academy, and, after having been well taught at home, he began his preparation for college. In August, 1843, he entered Harvard, whence he graduated B. A. in 1847. His rank was seventh in his class. The triennial catalogue of Harvard university bears the names of fourteen of his family.

Among his classmates were many who have rendered distinguished services to the church and the state. We may mention here Edward Tuckerman, the eminent botanist; Dr. Charles Gilman

Smith of Chicago ; Dr. Richard M. Hodges of Boston ; Charles Allen, one of the justices of the supreme court of Massachusetts ; John B. Felton of San Francisco ; William C. Endicott, secretary of war, and Rev. Charles H. Lowe, late secretary of the American Unitarian association.

Immediately after graduating, Mr. Savage went to St. Simons island, which lies just off the coast of Glynn county, in Georgia, and belonged in large part to the estate of the Honorable T. Butler King, then a representative in congress. He was private tutor to the children of this distinguished man until July, 1848, when he returned to the north. In September of that year he was entered a student-at-law in the office of the Honorable Origin S. Seymour, at Litchfield, in Connecticut, who was his relative. At that time Mr. Seymour was a distinguished lawyer in large practice. He was afterwards governor and a judge of the supreme court of Connecticut, and took an active part in politics as a Democrat. In order to support himself while prosecuting his law studies, in the winter of 1848-9 Mr. Savage taught a private school. In October of the next year he removed to New York city, where he continued his studies in the office of George Wood. This gentleman was at that time at the head of the bar of the state of New York. His name may be read very often in the state and Federal reports as counsel in the great-est causes.

On the twelfth of February, 1850, Mr. Savage was admitted to the bar in New York city, and entered the office of his

cousin, the Honorable Lewis B. Woodruff, as managing clerk. Judge Woodruff at that time held high rank in the profession and his office was full of heavy business. He was a most amiable gentleman and took a deep and affectionate interest in his young kinsman. In 1850 he was elected judge of the superior court of New York, and in 1866 was promoted to a seat on the bench of the court of appeals, from which position he was removed to the office of the circuit judge of the United States for the second circuit. The exclamation is natural, How fortunate were the circumstances of the early life of Mr. Savage ! Above all, he had before his eyes the example of eminent lawyers and the best men ; and he felt in great measure the influence of the highest professional character.

When Judge Woodruff entered upon his most useful and distinguished judicial career, his clerk commenced the practice of his profession for himself, and continued at the bar of New York city until the breaking out of the war in 1861. It was no mean sacrifice he felt himself called upon to make for his country. He had good reason to hope for professional success in the great city, for he enjoyed associations and connections sure to bring him many and valuable engagements. Nor did he feel the assurance of high rank in the army, which stimulated the ambition of many young men. Reared in the school of the best Democrats, he valued far more than his own interests the Union which Andrew Jackson, in another juncture, had declared " must and shall be pre-

served." It is a part of the unwritten, the silent history of those days of doubt, that the fervor of patriotic emotion and the spirit of self-sacrifice animated the youth of the country.

On the twenty-first of July, 1861, Mr. Savage was commissioned a captain in the regular army and assigned as aid-de-camp to the staff of General Fremont, and in the October following he was promoted to be major. In March, 1862, he was again promoted to be lieutenant-colonel. In December, 1863, he resigned his commission in the regular army and was mustered in as colonel of the Twelfth New York Volunteer cavalry.

He served until the close of hostilities, and on the fifth of August, 1865, was mustered out with his regiment.

Surely that is a happy country which can fill the ranks of her army with men of education and spirit, who will not lay down the sword until her cause is won and her honor vindicated. As long as she has such sons, however dark the clouds, the glory of the day is sure.

After retiring from military service, Colonel Savage spent a year in travel. On the eighteenth of April, 1867, just after Nebraska had been admitted to the Union, he removed to Omaha and resumed the practice of his profession. I remember him well as he was at that time—well-knit, vigorous, of dignified mien and gentle manner; a bright spirit and a kindly speech were his, so that at once friends gathered around him, and through all the years and contentions which have passed since then, he has held them to him.

Colonel Savage at once took a high

rank at the bar, many of whose members have attained enviable places in the country. In 1869 he became associated in practice with the Honorable Charles F. Manderson, now United States senator from Nebraska, under the style of Savage & Manderson.

The public esteem in which he was held is shown by the repeated calls of his fellow-citizens for his services.

In 1870 he received the nomination of the Democratic party for member of congress, but was defeated by the Honorable Lorenzo Crounse.

In 1873 the legislature elected him regent of the State university, which office he held until it was made elective by the constitution of 1875.

In November, 1875, he was elected judge of the Third judicial district, and in 1879 was reelected to the same office for another term. The district was largely Republican, and his election both times by large majorities bears emphatic testimony to the esteem in which he was held and the value of his judicial services. He had the best qualities of a good judge—a vigorous administration, conscientious impartiality, a quick apprehension and a strong native sense of justice. The business of his district very largely exceeded that of any other in the state; but fewer of his judgments were carried to the supreme court for review than those of any other judge. That court seldom reversed him.

The severities of his office compelled him to resign it before the expiration of his term, his health having become seriously impaired.

In 1883 he resumed the practice of the law. With great experience he was able to bring into the service of his large clientage wisdom, skill and abundant learning.

A vacancy occurred at this time in the chancellorship of the State university. The position was offered to Judge Savage and the friends of the institution pressed upon him the acceptance of it with great urgency. They felt that he had the wisdom to guide it through the troubles which then surrounded it, and bring it to that measure of success and service which other western state universities enjoy. Nor did he in any measure underrate the dignity tendered him, nor what a fit man could do in it; but greatly to the disappointment of all who hoped for good things of the young institution, he felt himself constrained to decline the honor.

At the November election, 1883, he was a candidate for judge of the supreme court on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by 4,250 votes when the Republican majority in the state was five times that number. He has been one of the trustees of the Omaha Public library since 1881, and is a trustee of Bellevue college. In July, 1885, President Cleveland appointed him a government director of the Union Pacific Railway company, and has re-appointed him every year since.

In April, 1875, he was married to Mrs. Lucy T. Morris, daughter of Alanson Tucker, esq., of Derry, New Hampshire. Judge and Mrs. Savage dispense in their home a generous and graceful hospitality. It is full of interesting

things—works of art and articles of historical value. Each the descendant of a colonial family, has brought into it ancestral memorials of the early days of our country. But chiefest among their treasures is a Shakespearean library of many volumes and rich in rare editions almost beyond any in the west. Both of them are most delightfully fond of every word and minutely learned in all the lore of the great poet.

Besides the cultivation of all Shakespearean lore, Judge Savage has devoted himself to curious learning of American history. Room remains only to notice two of his interesting papers on such out of the way topics.

On the sixteenth of April, 1880, he read a paper before the Nebraska State Historical society which he entitled: "The Discovery of Nebraska," and which was printed among the transactions of the society for that year.

After adverting to the many efforts being made on all hands to compel the vast libraries of all countries to give up their dead treasures, he states his purpose thus:

"I purpose to collect and present, this evening, a few of the reasons we have for believing that four-score years before the pilgrims landed on the venerable shores of Massachusetts; sixty-eight years before Hudson discovered the ancient and beautiful river which still bears his name; sixty-six years before John Smith, with his cockney colonists, sailed up a summer stream which they named after James the First of England, and commenced the settlement of what was afterwards to be Vir-

ginia ; twenty-three years before Shakespeare was born ; when Queen Elizabeth was a little girl, and Charles the Fifth sat upon the united throne of Germany and Spain, Nebraska was discovered, the peculiarities of her soil and climate noted, her fruits and productions described, and her inhabitants and animals depicted.

“ There is hardly any expedition of modern times, around which hangs so much of the glamour of romantic mystery as that undertaken about the middle of the sixteenth century for the purpose of discovering the seven cities of the buffalo and the land of Quivira. Although at least four contemporaneous narratives of this remarkable march have reached us, it is singular that hardly any two writers agree either in the location of the seven cities or the ultimate terminus of the journey. The cities of Cibola have been placed by different investigators at the ruins now called Zuni, in New Mexico, at a point about one hundred miles east of that spot and on the Rio Del Chaco, about an equal distance to the north. The country called Quivira is still more rich in its variety of locations. The vicinity of Guamas on the Gulf of California, the ruins now called Gran Quivira in New Mexico, different points in Colorado, and the region of Baxter Springs in Kansas, are but a few of the spots suggested for this forgotten land. I shall endeavor to show that none of these answer to the conditions of the narratives to which I alluded, and that the land of Quivira was situated in what is now the state of Nebraska.”

With the admiring affection of one who loves adventurous spirit and unwearied piety, he notices the records of the travels and the toils of Marquette, and then gives a most vivid and graphic account of the expedition of Francisco Vasques Coronado in search of the seven cities in the country of Quivira, upon which adventurous march the Spanish cavalier penetrated far into the region now within the jurisdiction of Nebraska, and to a point which Judge Savage locates between Gage county on the east and Furnas county on the west. Of course the records of the expedition are obscure, but ingenious and plausible reasons are adduced to support the conception of the writer.

It is one of the most graceful and delightful papers being written nowadays on such subjects.

Judge Savage has communicated to the society another paper which he entitled : “ A Visit to Nebraska in 1662,” and which is printed in the “ Transactions ” of 1887.

It is an account of the expedition of Don Diego Count Penalosa, which took place in the year 1662. “ The life of this knight was marked by all the glitter, romantic enterprise and vicissitudes which so charmed the Spanish soldiers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.” On the sixth of March, in the year 1662, when, in New England and Virginia, hardy colonists were laying the foundations of an empire which was destined in less than two centuries to extend over Quivira, and New Mexico also, Penalosa marched in state from Santa Fé to explore the realms to the eastward and north, and to follow the

tracks of Coronado one hundred and twenty years before. The composition of the expedition shows the fondness of its leader for luxury and pomp." From this beginning the course of the expedition, the wanderings, the toils, the adventures of the Spaniard and his command are traced to a point fixed with much plausibility in the Valleys of the Platte and the Loup, and near, perhaps at, the present town of Columbus. Here was a great city, even the last vestige of which has altogether passed away ; not so much as the name of its ruler remains.

A most delightful fact remains to be mentioned in this connection. Some years ago an officer of the United States army was marching with his command through the same regions, and within the boundaries of Nebraska, not far from its south line, in a canyon, far off the line of travel, he found the casque, or what remained of the casque,

of a Spanish cavalier. It bore signs of great age ; no other remains were found. He surmised that it was the last memorial of some one of the cavaliers in one or other of these romantic adventures. As if in discharge of a sacred duty, he carefully brought it to Judge Savage, and it now remains in his home, one of the most interesting of his historical treasures.

These papers at once drew attention to their author, and, doubtless as a recognition of his service in the cause of American history he has been made a member of the historical societies of New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Missouri.

He is understood to be at present engaged upon another pamphlet to be entitled: "The Christening of the Platte"—an account of a visit to that river about the middle of the eighteenth century.

COLORADO AND DENVER.

THE *Rocky Mountain News* was issued for the first time in Denver, April 23, 1859, and is the pioneer newspaper of Colorado. It was founded by Honorable William N. Byers, a descendant of an old Scottish family upon his father's side, and upon the maternal from the Brandenbergs of Germany. He was born in Madison county, Ohio, February 22, 1831. The history of this founder of the press in Colorado

is full of interest and may be given more extendedly in these pages hereafter.

I find in a special edition of this enterprising paper, issued in June, 1888, an article upon Colorado and Denver, so carefully prepared and so authentic as to obviate the pleasurable necessity of writing an original paper upon that subject as intended upon my arrival here.

WILLIAM J. CONNELL.

Intelligence, energy and perseverance constitute the capital of many young men of our country who start in life otherwise comparatively poor. Although unaided by wealthy friends or relatives, they make their way by progressive steps until frequently fortune and fame await them. They are self-made men, and are to be found in all large communities. One of these is William J. Connell, a resident of the city of Omaha. He is a Canadian by birth, having been born in Cowansville, Province of Quebec, about thirty miles from the northern boundary of Vermont, on the sixth of July, 1846.

The father of William—the Rev. David Connell—was a Congregational minister, who, in the year 1856, after doing efficient work at Cowansville in the little church there founded by him, removed with his family to Schroon Lake, a small but beautiful town among the Adirondacks, in the northern part of the state of New York. Here the subject of this sketch—the eldest of the minister's family of eight children—spent his boyhood days, attending school and enjoying the hunting and fishing for which that country is famous. At the age of seventeen years, after having received an academic education, he obtained a clerkship in a large grocery house at Springfield, Massachusetts, where he was employed for two years, when he went to St. Johnsbury, Vermont, to take charge of and close out the mercantile business of one then lately deceased. This occupied his time and attention for about a year, when being seized with the "western fever," he purchased a ticket

direct to Omaha, where he arrived on the tenth of April, 1867.

The young man did not go west to squander his time. He was willing to do any kind of honorable labor, and gladly accepted a position with Tootle & Maul, a dry goods firm. However, routine work in a store proved rather irksome to one having an ambition for a higher calling. He sought, therefore, a more intellectual field, finally deciding to read law. He began the study first in the law office of B. E. B. Kennedy, afterwards continuing his reading with Champion S. Chase and subsequently with J. M. Woolworth, in Omaha, being admitted to the bar in 1870, and engaging thereafter in the practice of the law in the same city.

In 1872 Mr. Connell was elected district attorney for the Third judicial district of Nebraska, which then comprised ten counties, including Douglas and Lancaster, and was reëlected in 1874. As prosecuting attorney, he was efficient and successful, and he made for himself a record of which he has good reason to be proud. Retiring from his office, he devoted himself to his profession generally, in which he proved as capable as he had been in the prosecution of criminals. He was appointed in April, 1883, city attorney of Omaha, and held the office for four years. At the time of his entering upon this office, Omaha was commencing a general system of public improvements, involving the levying of special taxes to a large amount. This met with strong opposition even from prominent property holders, though it is now difficult to realize

that fact. In those days much depended upon the character of the man who accepted the place of city attorney. A narrow-minded man would have committed the public interests to a narrow-minded policy, from the effects of which the city would not have recovered for years, if at all. Fortunately, Mr. Connell was the opposite. Energetic, enterprising and of broad views, he was the very man for the place, and the transformation of what was really a village into the city is due, in a large measure, to his influence. He saved Omaha hundreds of thousands of dollars by his successful defence of suits for damages, and by his sound legal advice on important questions. He mastered all the details of the city government, learned its needs and what was necessary to give it progressive tendencies. Through this experience he obtained the requisite information which he had incorporated into a new charter under which most of the public improvements which have wrought such wonderful change in the city have been made.

Mr. Connell takes a comprehensive view of every subject presented to him, and is recognized generally as a man of generous ideas and an uncompromising believer in the great future of Nebraska. His distinguishing trait at all times, whether in office or out, is his vigilant protection of the rights of the people as against the encroachments of corporations. Gas companies, railroad corporations and all similar institutions were compelled by him during his term as city attorney to pay due homage to the law, and through his exertions on many occasions rights of the public, which otherwise would have

been wrested from them, were preserved and corporate intriguing baffled. In these efforts he has convinced everyone that he was sincere. Evasion of the payment of taxes by railroads, unauthorized construction of their franchises, giving them rights not granted, and such invasions of the people's reserved rights have been combatted by him.

On the twenty-fourth of September, 1872, Mr. Connell was married at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, to Mattie Chadwick. They have had five children—Helen, Ralph S., Karl A., Marion and Hazel—all of whom, except the first mentioned, are living. The home of the family—"Hillcrest"—is one of the most beautiful and sightly in Omaha. In his business undertakings Mr. Connell has been very successful, accumulating a handsome fortune, but at the same time, he is a public-spirited and liberal man. He has advanced steadily in his profession, until he is now ranked among the foremost members of the bar in Omaha and in the state.

Mr. Connell, in politics, is a Republican. "His reputation is that of a persistent fighter, whether in the practice of his profession, or as the leader of a political faction, or as the champion of any cause in which he may be interested." As a parliamentarian, he has few superiors.

In the fall of 1888 he was nominated by the Republican Congressional convention of the First congressional district of Nebraska, as candidate for congress, and was elected by a plurality of 3,407 over his Democratic competitor. In view of the fact that the First district, composed of eleven counties, two years before gave the Democratic candidate for congress

over 7,000 majority, this may be properly called a political revolution. Mr. Con-
 nell's constituency, comprising 66,057
 voters, numbers not less than 365,000

people. This is one of the largest con-
 stituencies any man has ever represented
 in the lower house of congress.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

JAMES WOODRUFF SAVAGE.

The subject of this sketch comes of a distinguished historical family. The name was brought to this country by his paternal ancestor, Thomas Savage, who landed from England in 1630, and afterwards married Faith, daughter of Anne Hutchinson. The name of this woman is familiar to every reader of colonial history. She was the famous religious enthusiast who founded the Antinomian sect of New England. On her mother's side she was a second cousin of the poet Dryden. In 1634 she came to Boston, Massachusetts, to enjoy the preaching of John Cotton. Here she instituted meetings of women for the discussion of doctrinal questions, and her influence created a powerful faction and led to public disturbances. She was banished to Rhode Island and afterwards removed to New Amsterdam, where she was murdered by the Indians in 1643. Very eminent men of that day, among them Sir Henry Vane and John Cotton, were favorably inclined to her doctrine. Those who are curious to know more of her than can be given here, will find a brief notice of her in 'Bancroft's History,' Vol. I., pages 388-91.

We have not space to trace the descent of the name through generations always distinguished in the annals of

New England. The father of our subject was Rev. Thomas Savage, a minister of the Presbyterian denomination, who died in Bedford, New Hampshire, in 1866, having been pastor of the church in that place for forty years.

Judge Savage was born February 2, 1826, in Bedford, New Hampshire. His early life was passed in a farming community. Its quiet and simple conditions were favorable to the formation of an ingenuous character. At the same time they were not rude. In the home of his youth there were the gravity of a minister's household, the sober faith and devout life of Christian parents, and the books and the learning and the culture of educated gentle people. The seeds then planted have borne good fruit.

In September, 1841, James entered the Phillips Andover academy, and, after having been well taught at home, he began his preparation for college. In August, 1843, he entered Harvard, whence he graduated B.A. in 1847. His rank was seventh in his class. The triennial catalogue of Harvard university bears the names of fourteen of his family.

Among his classmates were many who have rendered distinguished services to the church and the state. We may mention here Edward Tuckerman, the eminent botanist; Dr. Charles Gilman

Smith of Chicago ; Dr. Richard M. Hodges of Boston ; Charles Allen, one of the justices of the supreme court of Massachusetts ; John B. Felton of San Francisco ; William C. Endicott, secretary of war, and Rev. Charles H. Lowe, late secretary of the American Unitarian association.

Immediately after graduating, Mr. Savage went to St. Simons island, which lies just off the coast of Glynn county, in Georgia, and belonged in large part to the estate of the Honorable T. Butler King, then a representative in congress. He was private tutor to the children of this distinguished man until July, 1848, when he returned to the north. In September of that year he was entered a student-at-law in the office of the Honorable Origin S. Seymour, at Litchfield, in Connecticut, who was his relative. At that time Mr. Seymour was a distinguished lawyer in large practice. He was afterwards governor and a judge of the supreme court of Connecticut, and took an active part in politics as a Democrat. In order to support himself while prosecuting his law studies, in the winter of 1848-9 Mr. Savage taught a private school. In October of the next year he removed to New York city, where he continued his studies in the office of George Wood. This gentleman was at that time at the head of the bar of the state of New York. His name may be read very often in the state and Federal reports as counsel in the greatest causes.

On the twelfth of February, 1850, Mr. Savage was admitted to the bar in New York city, and entered the office of his

cousin, the Honorable Lewis B. Woodruff, as managing clerk. Judge Woodruff at that time held high rank in the profession and his office was full of heavy business. He was a most amiable gentleman and took a deep and affectionate interest in his young kinsman. In 1850 he was elected judge of the superior court of New York, and in 1866 was promoted to a seat on the bench of the court of appeals, from which position he was removed to the office of the circuit judge of the United States for the second circuit. The exclamation is natural, How fortunate were the circumstances of the early life of Mr. Savage ! Above all, he had before his eyes the example of eminent lawyers and the best men ; and he felt in great measure the influence of the highest professional character.

When Judge Woodruff entered upon his most useful and distinguished judicial career, his clerk commenced the practice of his profession for himself, and continued at the bar of New York city until the breaking out of the war in 1861. It was no mean sacrifice he felt himself called upon to make for his country. He had good reason to hope for professional success in the great city, for he enjoyed associations and connections sure to bring him many and valuable engagements. Nor did he feel the assurance of high rank in the army, which stimulated the ambition of many young men. Reared in the school of the best Democrats, he valued far more than his own interests the Union which Andrew Jackson, in another juncture, had declared "must and shall be pre-

served." It is a part of the unwritten, the silent history of those days of doubt, that the fervor of patriotic emotion and the spirit of self-sacrifice animated the youth of the country.

On the twenty-first of July, 1861, Mr. Savage was commissioned a captain in the regular army and assigned as aid-de-camp to the staff of General Fremont, and in the October following he was promoted to be major. In March, 1862, he was again promoted to be lieutenant-colonel. In December, 1863, he resigned his commission in the regular army and was mustered in as colonel of the Twelfth New York Volunteer cavalry.

He served until the close of hostilities, and on the fifth of August, 1865, was mustered out with his regiment.

Surely that is a happy country which can fill the ranks of her army with men of education and spirit, who will not lay down the sword until her cause is won and her honor vindicated. As long as she has such sons, however dark the clouds, the glory of the day is sure.

After retiring from military service, Colonel Savage spent a year in travel. On the eighteenth of April, 1867, just after Nebraska had been admitted to the Union, he removed to Omaha and resumed the practice of his profession. I remember him well as he was at that time—well-knit, vigorous, of dignified mien and gentle manner; a bright spirit and a kindly speech were his, so that at once friends gathered around him, and through all the years and contentions which have passed since then, he has held them to him.

Colonel Savage at once took a high

rank at the bar, many of whose members have attained enviable places in the country. In 1869 he became associated in practice with the Honorable Charles F. Manderson, now United States senator from Nebraska, under the style of Savage & Manderson.

The public esteem in which he was held is shown by the repeated calls of his fellow-citizens for his services.

In 1870 he received the nomination of the Democratic party for member of congress, but was defeated by the Honorable Lorenzo Crounse.

In 1873 the legislature elected him regent of the State university, which office he held until it was made elective by the constitution of 1875.

In November, 1875, he was elected judge of the Third judicial district, and in 1879 was reëlected to the same office for another term. The district was largely Republican, and his election both times by large majorities bears emphatic testimony to the esteem in which he was held and the value of his judicial services. He had the best qualities of a good judge—a vigorous administration, conscientious impartiality, a quick apprehension and a strong native sense of justice. The business of his district very largely exceeded that of any other in the state; but fewer of his judgments were carried to the supreme court for review than those of any other judge. That court seldom reversed him.

The severities of his office compelled him to resign it before the expiration of his term, his health having become seriously impaired.

In 1883 he resumed the practice of the law. With great experience he was able to bring into the service of his large clientage wisdom, skill and abundant learning.

A vacancy occurred at this time in the chancellorship of the State university. The position was offered to Judge Savage and the friends of the institution pressed upon him the acceptance of it with great urgency. They felt that he had the wisdom to guide it through the troubles which then surrounded it, and bring it to that measure of success and service which other western state universities enjoy. Nor did he in any measure underrate the dignity tendered him, nor what a fit man could do in it; but greatly to the disappointment of all who hoped for good things of the young institution, he felt himself constrained to decline the honor.

At the November election, 1883, he was a candidate for judge of the supreme court on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by 4,250 votes when the Republican majority in the state was five times that number. He has been one of the trustees of the Omaha Public library since 1881, and is a trustee of Bellevue college. In July, 1885, President Cleveland appointed him a government director of the Union Pacific Railway company, and has re-appointed him every year since.

In April, 1875, he was married to Mrs. Lucy T. Morris, daughter of Alan-son Tucker, esq., of Derry, New Hampshire. Judge and Mrs. Savage dispense in their home a generous and graceful hospitality. It is full of interesting

things—works of art and articles of historical value. Each the descendant of a colonial family, has brought into it ancestral memorials of the early days of our country. But chiefest among their treasures is a Shakespearean library of many volumes and rich in rare editions almost beyond any in the west. Both of them are most delightfully fond of every word and minutely learned in all the lore of the great poet.

Besides the cultivation of all Shakespearean lore, Judge Savage has devoted himself to curious learning of American history. Room remains only to notice two of his interesting papers on such out of the way topics.

On the sixteenth of April, 1880, he read a paper before the Nebraska State Historical society which he entitled: "The Discovery of Nebraska," and which was printed among the transactions of the society for that year.

After adverting to the many efforts being made on all hands to compel the vast libraries of all countries to give up their dead treasures, he states his purpose thus:

"I purpose to collect and present, this evening, a few of the reasons we have for believing that four-score years before the pilgrims landed on the venerable shores of Massachusetts; sixty-eight years before Hudson discovered the ancient and beautiful river which still bears his name; sixty-six years before John Smith, with his cockney colonists, sailed up a summer stream which they named after James the First of England, and commenced the settlement of what was afterwards to be Vir-

ginia; twenty-three years before Shakespeare was born; when Queen Elizabeth was a little girl, and Charles the Fifth sat upon the united throne of Germany and Spain, Nebraska was discovered, the peculiarities of her soil and climate noted, her fruits and productions described, and her inhabitants and animals depicted.

“There is hardly any expedition of modern times, around which hangs so much of the glamour of romantic mystery as that undertaken about the middle of the sixteenth century for the purpose of discovering the seven cities of the buffalo and the land of Quivira. Although at least four contemporaneous narratives of this remarkable march have reached us, it is singular that hardly any two writers agree either in the location of the seven cities or the ultimate terminus of the journey. The cities of Cibola have been placed by different investigators at the ruins now called Zuni, in New Mexico, at a point about one hundred miles east of that spot and on the Rio Del Chaco, about an equal distance to the north. The country called Quivira is still more rich in its variety of locations. The vicinity of Guamas on the Gulf of California, the ruins now called Gran Quivira in New Mexico, different points in Colorado, and the region of Baxter Springs in Kansas, are but a few of the spots suggested for this forgotten land. I shall endeavor to show that none of these answer to the conditions of the narratives to which I alluded, and that the land of Quivira was situated in what is now the state of Nebraska.”

With the admiring affection of one who loves adventurous spirit and unwearied piety, he notices the records of the travels and the toils of Marquette, and then gives a most vivid and graphic account of the expedition of Francisco Vasques Coronado in search of the seven cities in the country of Quivira, upon which adventurous march the Spanish cavalier penetrated far into the region now within the jurisdiction of Nebraska, and to a point which Judge Savage locates between Gage county on the east and Furnas county on the west. Of course the records of the expedition are obscure, but ingenious and plausible reasons are adduced to support the conception of the writer.

It is one of the most graceful and delightful papers being written nowadays on such subjects.

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It is an account of the expedition of Don Diego Count Penalosa, which took place in the year 1662. “The life of this knight was marked by all the glitter, romantic enterprise and vicissitudes which so charmed the Spanish soldiers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.” On the sixth of March, in the year 1662, when, in New England and Virginia, hardy colonists were laying the foundations of an empire which was destined in less than two centuries to extend over Quivira, and New Mexico also, Penalosa marched in state from Santa Fé to explore the realms to the eastward and north, and to follow the

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A most delightful fact remains to be mentioned in this connection. Some years ago an officer of the United States army was marching with his command through the same regions, and within the boundaries of Nebraska, not far from its south line, in a canyon, far off the line of travel, he found the casque, or what remained of the casque,

of a Spanish cavalier. It bore signs of great age ; no other remains were found. He surmised that it was the last memorial of some one of the cavaliers in one or other of these romantic adventures. As if in discharge of a sacred duty, he carefully brought it to Judge Savage, and it now remains in his home, one of the most interesting of his historical treasures.

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As the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* has in view the permanent preservation of such matter pertaining to the west, this historical paper shall be reproduced in these pages, with the courteous permission of the *News*, for which the writer is especially grateful:

CHAPTER I.

Colorado is situated between the thirty-seventh and forty-first parallels of latitude, and between the one hundred and second and one hundred and ninth degrees of longitude west from Greenwich. It contains 106,000 square miles, which are nearly equally divided between plains and mountains. The eastern portion of the state is divided into two sections, known as northern and southern Colorado, by a great ridge, or "divide," as it is called, which extends eastward from the mountains and which rises to an average elevation of 2,000 feet above the sea. The northern section of the state is drained by the South Platte and its tributaries; the southern half by the Arkansas and its tributaries. The western portion of the state is drained by the White, Grand, Gunnison, Uncompahgre, San Miguel, Rio San Juan and Rio Dolores rivers and their mountain tributaries. The San Juan country is drained by the Rio Grande and its tributaries. The average elevation of the eastern portion of the state is 5,000 feet above the sea. The mountainous portion of the state contains four great parks, known as North, Middle, South and San Luis parks. These parks are elevated plateaus, which rise to an average

height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea, surrounded by mountain peaks and ranges.

On April 3 of the year 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul of France, for the sum of \$16,000,000, ceded to the United States—then under the presidency of Thomas Jefferson—all that vast territory entitled the Province of Louisiana. The province extended from the possessions of New Spain on the south to the boundary line of the British possessions on the north, and had the magnificent Mississippi river on the one side and the great Pacific ocean on the other.

At the close of the Mexican war, in 1848, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, for the sum of \$15,000,000, all New Mexico and California—a region extending from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific, and containing about 500,000 square miles—was ceded to the United States. One portion of this domain is Colorado, destined by her position, resources and climate to enjoy an immortal precedence among the states of our great Republic. Before the year 1858, very little was known of Colorado. It is recorded, with some apparent truth, that a large force of Spaniards and Indian allies, led by Coronado, a Spanish military captain, having for their object the discovery of gold, had, about the middle of the sixteenth century, penetrated to this section of the Rocky mountains. The expedition, after incredible hardships, returned without the golden treasures for which they had ventured so far and suffered so much.

Soon after the transfer of the Louisiana province and the establishment of the United States authority therein, it was determined at Washington to understand the nature of the country, the sources of its large rivers and the general character of the climate. Accordingly, in the summer of 1806, a small expedition was equipped and dispatched under the command of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, who for his skilled services was, on his return, promoted to the rank of major. On the fifteenth of November Major Pike and his small company beheld the prominent and stately mountain which, in honor of the commander, was named Pike's Peak. Major Pike, in his diary, thus refers to this peak: "This mountain was so remarkable as to be known to all the savage nations for hundreds of miles around, and to be spoken of with admiration by the Spaniards of New Mexico, and was the bounds of their travels northwest." Directing his march with the course of the mountains, Major Pike continued his explorations. Failing to discover the object of his search—the source of the Red river—he retraced his steps and proceeded in a southwesterly direction. Determined to find the headwaters of that important stream, and unconquered by the fearful severities of winter in the midst of the mountains, the little party of explorers pursued their way. Their discoveries were, however, brought to a close by an untoward event—the capture of the whole party by the Spaniards, who held a military post in the San Juan country.

In the year 1819 another and larger expedition was prepared and ordered to explore this section of the Rocky mountains. The party engaged in this enterprise had advanced a considerable distance into the Indian country without molestation, when its further progress was checked by the loss of their horses, which had been stolen by the Pawnee Indians. This mischance detained the expedition for a whole year. In June, 1820, Colonel S. H. Long, the commander, all losses having been repaired, resumed his march. Early in the summer they reached the South Platte, and followed its course until the mountains came in sight. The massive giant peak which stood out boldly and grandly before them was, in honor of Colonel Long, called Long's Peak. Colonel Long made a careful examination of the mountains from Long's Peak to Pike's Peak, and of the plains lying along the base.

A very full exploration of the Rocky mountains was made in 1832 by Captain Bonneville, who commanded a party fitted out by the American Fur company. The most effective expedition hitherto equipped by the government, for the purpose of exploration, was commanded by Colonel Fremont, and set out in 1842. Upon his arrival at the South Platte he sent the larger portion of his army to Fort Laramie, a post of the American Fur company. With the rest of his command he advanced to Fort St. Vrain, an Indian trading-post, situated seventeen miles east from Long's Peak and one hundred miles north from Pike's Peak. From this

point he journeyed northward, exploring the country beyond the limits of Colorado.

Another band of explorers, conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont, camped at Fort St. Vrain in July, 1843. This party made accurate surveys of the regions known as north and south of the divide—an elevated ridge separating the Arkansas and Platte valleys; crossed and recrossed the range, ascertained many valuable facts, and mapped out the main geographical features of Colorado. But so far, none of these explorers, nor any of the white inhabitants, mostly occupied in trading, trapping and hunting, had made any discovery of the vast mineral wealth now known to exist in this portion of the Sierra Madre range.

On January 29, 1861, an act for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a state passed both houses of congress. On February 26, 1861, congress divided the new state, and organized the western portion into a new state bearing the name of Colorado. Kansas became a territory in 1854. From that year until 1858 no one authorized to represent the territory of Kansas appeared within the present limits of Colorado. The inhabitants before this time, besides the employés of the American Fur company and a few independent trappers, hunters and Indian traders, consisted of a scattered population of Pueblos and Mexicans, mostly engaged in stock-raising in the vicinity of the Raton mountains, and the roving tribes of savages. The Indian traders, among whom were Lieutenant Lupton and

Vigil St. Vrain in the north, and Colonels Boone and Bent in the south, had erected small forts to shield them from the savages.

In 1852 a party of Cherokee Indians, on their way from Georgia to California, discovered gold on the banks of a small stream tributary to the South Platte. On their return journey they showed the gold and reported the place of discovery. Exciting rumors of gold found in large quantities in the Rocky mountains inflamed thousands with the desire to reach and possess the open treasures. The first train of prospectors, led by W. Green Russell, esq., started from Georgia. As they passed through Missouri and Kansas, the gold fever influenced many to leave home and competency for the distant plains and mountains teeming with riches. The Georgians took up their position where Denver now stands, and thoroughly prospected Cherry creek from its mouth to its source; but as their labors were poorly rewarded, they gave the Platte, of which Cherry creek is a tributary, a fair trial for six or seven miles south. Much disappointed, they set out for the North Platte and Green river regions, but faring worse, returned to their first location, and were made happy by larger returns for their labor. The first Kansas party built their campfires near the present site of Pueblo. As the news of gold discoveries sped across the continent, a strong tide of emigration set in to the Pike's Peak country. Strings of wagons and troops of men in constant succession kept crossing the great plains, anxious, as

they toiled on, to catch a glimpse of the blue outlines of the mountains, where fortune stood ready to enrich the hardy adventurers. From all parts and embracing all characters poured in the earnest crowd, all animated by a common hope of attaining sudden wealth. J. W. Denver, after whom Denver, the present capital of Colorado, was called, was then governor of Kansas territory.

On the banks of the Platte near Yonker's ranch, about four miles above Denver, some of the Kansas company who had camped on the Arkansas, with others, began to erect a number of log

cabins. These were soon completed, and the name of Montana City was applied to the settlement. In these cabins a large party of prospectors spent the winter. On September 24 a party of nine selected the east side of Cherry creek, near its mouth, for a town site, and agreed to lay out 640 acres for that purpose. The name of St. Charles was given to it, but no steps were taken to survey and plat the town or put up buildings, unless a few logs crossed together, with an old wagon cover for a roof, might be designated a house.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

[*To be continued.*]

GYSBERT VAN STEENWYK.

TO A considerable majority of the men who have won distinction in that portion of our country which, a generation ago, was the western borderland, certain well-defined conditions are common. Those upon whom the real pioneer work has fallen were endowed with few early advantages save the hardy physique and steadfast mind acquired by a toilsome and somewhat narrow life from youth up. They found their opportunities in the resources of the country and attained wealth and some measure of preferment in advanced life which the disadvantages of youth debarred them from rightly enjoying. Another class came into the west fresh from the universities, without either the physical endowments or mental forces essential to

successful pioneering. The lives of many such were obscure, misspent even, whereas amid more congenial surroundings they might have been distinguished. The perseverance with which western life imbues every man has inscribed a noble record of success in both classes, but it has been retarded by the slow processes of assimilation, and too often has not reached the development for which the conditions were favorable.

In the rare cases where all the desirable influences have been combined—education and culture, robust physique, courage and a temperate habit of life—the west has produced men of note in the community who have acquired property, fulfilled important trusts and rightly enjoyed the best gifts of life.

Of this class Honorable Gysbert Van Steenwyk, president of the Batavian Bank of LaCrosse, is a fit representative. A native of Holland; his great mistake was in not having commenced his American life ten years earlier. Not that the time spent in the cultivated and brilliant society of his native city, Utrecht, was wasted, but because so much more might have been added to his busy and useful career as an American citizen at a time when one year counted as two in a man's lifetime, and in the opportunities afforded by the developing Nation.

Mr. Van Steenwyk was one of a family of six children. His father was a gentleman farmer, owning lands within two miles of the city of Utrecht, and accounted a man of wealth. The children had the benefits of thorough education, opportunities for culture and means sufficient for maintenance in the manner to which they were accustomed, or establishment in any business or profession they might select. The subject of this sketch was the youngest but one—a sister, now living in their native city. He was born January 30, 1814, and is, therefore, at this time, nearly seventy-five years of age. The first half of his life was passed in his native land. The University of Utrecht offered educational opportunities hardly surpassed in Europe, and he was a student in that institution until the age of twenty-seven, although his degree in philosophy and philology was taken at the age of twenty-two. At sixteen he was enrolled as a volunteer in the Army of the Netherlands, serving two years. From 1838 to 1849, when he departed for America,

he was a commissioned officer in the Netherland National guards. During much of this time he resided in Utrecht, was a member of several clubs and lived the social life of the wealthy and aristocratic city.

It was not the life Mr. Van Steenwyk desired; it was not a life to satisfy his mind or employ his talents. He took up the law as a study, but the profession was distasteful to him. He could speak French and German fluently and read English. America had been an object of much study and inquiry, on account of its form of government and also because of its opportunities. Finally, in the winter of 1848, while visiting a friend in a neighboring city, he announced his intention of going to the United States. The friend, who was a teacher and weary of his profession, was of the same mind, and they fully determined to start for the western land the following spring. Another friend in Utrecht desired to join them, and on their embarkation in May, 1849, a fourth Hollander of quality and some means became one of the party. Passage was taken in an American sailing vessel expressly for the purpose of acquiring that familiarity with the language which would result from hearing nothing else spoken during a voyage of some six weeks. This was of inestimable advantage to all, especially to Mr. Van Steenwyk, whose studies, reinforced by practice, enabled him to converse readily with the people.

The party of four spent the summer in New York and Newark learning what they could about the country and the advantages offered by different sections.

It was agreed, in their councils, that they should seek a western state, and further, that the autumn months should be spent in exploring Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin. Early in September they started west. Michigan took up but little of their time. Riding through the heavily timbered country, where the houses found scanty room among the stumps, and fire had run through the woods, they found little to please the eye or hold out promises to the imagination.

Illinois was hardly more satisfactory. Chicago, then a town of thirty thousand people, was attracting notice, but to the Hollanders it was dreary and depressing. They made a tour among the northern Illinois towns and found much that was promising; but everywhere they were warned not to settle anywhere else unless they were prepared to die of fever and ague. So concluding that a country where malaria was absent only from the immediate point of inquiry was hardly a sanitarium, they returned to Chicago and took steamer to Milwaukee.

Here the life and career of Gysbert Van Steenwyk began; all the years preceding had been preparatory, and only important for their influence upon those that followed. Milwaukee bay and the town, lying somewhat elevated, were pleasing to the eye, and the impression was not dispelled by a closer view. Nevertheless the party desired to see the new towns springing up through the state, and as soon as possible joined in the purchase of a team and carriage, by means of which Racine,

Kenosha, Janesville, Madison, Oshkosh and intermediate places were visited, the trip occupying six weeks in October and November. It is not strange that the unanimous verdict of the home-seeking quartette was in favor of the larger town, and thither they returned, each to pursue his appointed way in life.

Through letters of introduction and acquaintance speedily made with the leading men of the town, Mr. Van Steenwyk was not long without opportunities for employment. McGregor & Tenney, lawyers, advised him to enter their office, but the profession was no more to his taste in America than in his native land. Mr. McGregor, who had an insurance agency, then proposed increasing the list of companies and forming a partnership in this branch. This was satisfactory, and as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made Mr. Van Steenwyk hung out his first professional sign. It very soon became expedient that he should have notarial authority and a second sign was added.

The Hollanders, of whom there were about eight hundred in Milwaukee, were not long in learning that one of their countrymen was able to assist them in their business affairs, and their calls upon him were so frequent, especially for correspondence with the old country, where many of them retained some property interests, that the securing of some representative authority became a matter of convenience, if not necessity. Accordingly, a letter was dispatched to a friend at court, and in due time Mr. Van Steenwyk received his commission from The Hague as consul of the Neth-

erlands for Wisconsin. Thereupon a third sign was hung beside the office door, and to this an addition was made the following year, when he was commissioned consul for Michigan and Minnesota. He now had plenty of business, was doing well and heartily enjoying life.

The legislature of 1852 created the office of commissioner of immigration, the incumbent to reside in New York, and his duties to be the promotion of immigration to Wisconsin. Mr. Van Steenwyk's Milwaukee friends advised him to accept this appointment in case it was offered him. He declined, because he had other plans mapped out and did not want an office of that nature anyway. His friends became more urgent, representing that his command of several languages would be of great value, and he could do more for the settlement of the state in that manner than in any other way. While the matter was under discussion, Governor Farwell telegraphed him to come to Madison. He obeyed, was the governor's guest during the visit, was tendered the appointment and finally accepted it, though not without reluctance.

During most of the years 1852 and 1853, Mr. Van Steenwyk resided in New York. His labor in securing for Wisconsin a thrifty, industrious and temperate class of settlers among the foreigners then flocking to America, has exerted an influence which cannot be estimated, upon the welfare of the state.

The legislature of 1853 took the power of appointing to this office from the governor, and, being a Democratic

body, while the incumbent had united with the Whig party, his successor was named, and he returned to Milwaukee.

Having become interested in lands in the interior of the state, especially along the line of the LaCrosse & Milwaukee railroad, then in process of construction, Mr. Van Steenwyk moved to Newport, on the Wisconsin river, where it was expected the railroad would cross. The village rose to considerable prominence upon its expectations, but declined and almost went out of existence when the railroad company fixed the crossing point a mile and a half above, where a new town was laid out and called Kilbourn City. Thither most of the Newport settlers moved, Mr. Van Steenwyk with them, in 1858. In 1857 he was commissioned brigadier-general of state troops, obtaining a title which serves his friends in familiar intercourse to the present day. In 1859 he was elected to the state assembly from Columbia county after a contest which was a history in itself, receiving a majority of two hundred over a Democrat in a Democratic district. He resigned his consular office, not deeming it proper that a legislator in the United States should be the representative of a foreign government. The following year he was a delegate to the Republican State convention, and received the nomination for bank controller, to which office he was elected. In this period of great political and military events, the finances of the country were in such chaos as no person living at that time can ever forget, and General Van Steenwyk's duties equaled in importance those of any officer of the state. His own choice would have been to enter the army and he could have had a regiment ;

but it was urged upon him that his official duties could not be committed to other hands, and the welfare of his fellow-citizens could in no way be so well promoted as by getting what salvage was possible out of the financial wrecks all about the state. In one year the comptroller wound up forty banks, having occasion to visit LaCrosse several times in the way of business.

The knowledge gained while in office decided his future course, and the outlook of LaCrosse decided the location. Accordingly, upon the expiration of his official term, in 1862, the Batavian bank was opened in LaCrosse, and for twenty-six prosperous years it has been a landmark in the business fields. General Van Steenwyk at once took a place in the first business circles of the community, but held no public office until 1873, when he served the city one term as mayor, being nominated as a Republican and almost unanimously supported by the Democrats.

In 1879 he was called upon to represent the Thirty-first district, composed of the city and county of LaCrosse, in the senate of the state, receiving a considerable majority over the Democratic and Greenback candidates.

In 1874 Mr. Van Steenwyk went abroad and spent a year and a half traveling in Europe. While there he made the acquaintance of Miss Marietta Nicholls, a native of Danbury, Connecticut, and daughter of Honorable David P. Nicholls, for many years treasurer of that state, who was traveling with her sister. The acquaintance led to a matrimonial engagement, and in May, 1875, they were united in marriage at Berne, Switzerland, under

the auspices of the general's personal friend, Honorable Horace Rublee, minister of the United States to that country, and now editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Three charming children have blessed this union, but one, a lovely boy, bright of eye and mind, the emblem of every good promise, has even within the past year gone somewhat in advance along the dark road whither all journey, to make the way lighter, though the earth be darker to those soon following after.

General Van Steenwyk's most important recent work has been as one of the executors of the late Governor C. C. Washburn's will. He was the intimate friend of the late governor, was with him several weeks at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, shortly before his death, and well acquainted with all his business affairs. The vast property in mills, elevators, water-powers, railroads, lumber and farming lands, aggregating nearly two millions of dollars, has been so managed that every industry has been profitably employed during the course of settlement, and the estate has increased very largely in value. To the sagacious management of Mr. Van Steenwyk and his co-executors, Charles Payson and Charles J. Martin, the heirs and beneficiaries under the will are very much indebted.

General Van Steenwyk is also vice-president (the mayor being president *ex officio*) of the permanent board of trustees of the public library established in LaCrosse by a provision of Governor Washburn's will, and takes great interest in the institution.

To enumerate all the business enterprises with which he has been connected would be difficult even for himself, per-

haps, without some thought. Among the more important recent ones are the Victor Flouring mill, the LaCrosse Linseed Oil mill, the Edison Electric Light and Power company, the LaCrosse Street Railway company, the LaCrosse tannery and the East Fork Improvement company—the latter a lumber organization. In all but the first named he is at this time a stockholder.

It is, however, as a banker that General Van Steenwyk is and will be best known. For more than a quarter of a century the Batavian bank has been a pillar of strength in the community. It has upheld the weak until they became strong, and carried the strong in their hours of weakness. It has always been steadfast, reliable, conservative without timidity, and to-day, occupying the finest building in Wisconsin,

outside of Milwaukee, and offices that cannot be surpassed for elegance and comfort, it stands in the front rank of the strong financial institutions of the northwest.

Notwithstanding his years, Mr. Van Steenwyk is in the enjoyment of mental and bodily vigor. His office hours are regularly kept, his duties as trustee or director in various institutions never neglected, and in his elegant home, surrounded by the best books and many works of art, happy in the companionship of his wife, whose natural gifts have been developed by travel, study and the best social advantages, interested in the education of his children, with leisure for occasional travel, he enjoys the gifts of life as one who has earned its privileges and its immunities.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

XI.

THE MECHANICAL DEVELOPMENT.—CONTINUED.

THE first locomotive ever run in America, as has already been shown, was the "Stourbridge Lion," constructed by Foster, Rastrick & Co. of England, received at New York in May, 1829, and set running upon the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company road in the same year. That event forms not only an epoch in the railroad history of America, but, in connection with the circumstances surrounding it, completes a story of the most absorbing interest. We have the narration in full,* from the pen of Horatio Allen, the engineer by whom the engine was run—now living in quiet at his home in Homewood, South Orange, New Jersey—and space can be occupied in no more profitable manner than in the reproduction of the main points thereof. "Early in the year 1827," writes Mr. Allen, "I had given all the attention that it was in my power to give, and having come to conclusions as to the locomotive that all subsequent experience has confirmed, and believing that the future of the civil engineer lay in a great and most attractive degree in the direction of the coming railroad era,

I decided to go to the only place where a locomotive was in daily operation, and could be studied in all its practical details. Closing my service on the Delaware & Hudson canal, some two months were appropriated to certain objects and interests, after which I was again in New York, preparatory to going to England.

"On my return to New York from these visits, I found that it had been decided by the Delaware & Hudson Canal company to intrust to me, first, the having made in England for that company the railroad iron required for their railroad, on which the coal from their mines in the Valley of the Lackawanna, a tributary of the Susquehanna, was to be transported across the mountain range, which intervened, to the Lackawaxen, a tributary of the Delaware, whence by canal the Valley of the Hudson was reached, and by the Hudson river the ocean was reached at New York; and, second, the having built in England for the company three locomotives, on plans to be decided by me when in England. This action of the Delaware & Hudson Canal company was on the report of their chief engineer, John B. Jervis, and thus it occurred that *the first*

* 'The Railroad Era. First Five Years of Its Development.' By Horatio Allen. (Reprinted from the *Railroad Gazette*, New York, 1884.)

order for a locomotive engine, after the locomotives on the Stockton & Darlington road were at work, came from an American company, on the report of an American civil engineer, now a resident at Rome, in the state of New York. It was under these favorable circumstances that I left New York in January, 1828, and within two days after my arrival at Liverpool I made the acquaintance of George Stephenson, on the most agreeable relations, and from that day during my stay in England I received from him every kindness in his power, and all the aid to what I had come so far to seek, that was at his command, at Liverpool, on the Stockton & Darlington railroad, and at Newcastle, at that time the centre of all that was in progress in railroad and locomotive matters.

“The iron for the railroad first required attention, and as its manufacture, although executed in England, was on a plan of American origin, some reference to its manufacture is appropriate in this article. The instructions which accompanied the authority to contract, etc., describe a mode of making the iron. On reading the description, it appeared to me that a less expensive plan could be used. This I explained to the committee of the Delaware & Hudson Canal company. It was thought proper to have the judgment of someone having experience in rolling iron, which I had not, as I had not even seen a bar of iron rolled. The proprietor of the only rolling-mill near New York, at the request of the committee, came to New York to consider the plan proposed, and after examination he stated that in his judg-

ment the plan would not be a success. Nevertheless I thought it would be well to suggest the plan at the rolling-mills in England.

“*This being the first order for iron made expressly for a railroad from this country,* it was deemed advisable to go to the mills and explain what was wanted, and to suggest one way in which the iron could be made, as it appeared to me. Of the seventeen mills visited, and from which proposals were received, only three thought well of my suggestion. With one of the three, the Guests of Merthyr Tydvil, a contract was made. When the time for examination of the iron came, it was not satisfactory, and I said that I could not accept iron of that character; they refused to deliver any other. Application was then made to W. & I. Sparrow of Wolverhampton, another of the three, and reference to what had occurred at Merthyr Tydvil. I described very plainly what I expected. In reply I was informed that the intention in their proposals was what I had fully explained. The contract was therefore made with W. & I. Sparrow. My wish in this case to remain and see the preparations made being acceded to, the rolls to be fitted up were on hand, and in ten days the iron was being made on the plan proposed, and subsequently the iron was delivered in every respect satisfactory. The large amount of iron of the same character made for this country in after years, was all made on that plan. If the mechanical details of the plan were described, there would be surprise that there ever had been

any question, or that it had been thought worth the time to refer to it.

"The order for the locomotive required the determination of the plan of boiler, and in order to that decision, and to the study of all matters in connection with the construction and use of railroads, much time was passed at Liverpool in connection with the Liverpool & Manchester railroad, on the Stockton & Darlington railroad, at Newcastle, and at Stourbridge, the place at which were the works of Foster, Rastrick & Company, from whom proposals to furnish the railroad iron had been received. As to the boiler, the result on my mind was a decided confidence in the multitubular boiler proposed by Mr. Booth of the Liverpool & Manchester road, but I found in many a distrust of that plan of boiler as being an *untried* boiler. John U. Rastrick of Stourbridge . . . recommended a boiler of small riveted flues of as small diameter as could be riveted, and in number as many as the end of the fire-box would allow.

"Under the circumstances, it appeared to me that the responsibility resting on me would be more prudently met by the order of two locomotives from Stephenson, which were built at Newcastle, and one from Foster, Rastrick & Company, which was built at Stourbridge. The plans of the locomotives, the proportions of parts and all details were left to the judgment of the builders, as their experience far exceeded mine. The only points decided by me were that the boilers of the locomotives built by Stephenson & Company were to be

multitubular boilers, the dimensions of the tubes to be decided by the builders; and that the boiler of the locomotive built by Rastrick & Company (the 'Stourbridge Lion') was to be a flue-boiler, the size and number of the flues to be decided by the builder. As the locomotives were built after I left England, they were never seen by me until I saw them in New York, and I never saw the inside of any of the boilers until I saw the inside of the boiler of the 'Stourbridge Lion,' at Chicago, in 1883; when, to a surprise so great that I could not believe that the inside of the boiler had not been changed, I found that the discretionary power placed in Mr. Rastrick had not been used in the manner agreed on after full discussion, and after I had yielded to his judgment in having a flue-boiler at all. In the orders thus given in the early summer of 1828 for three locomotives, is presented the fact that the *first order for a locomotive* after the demonstration of the locomotive as a successful tractive power on the Stockton & Darlington railroad in 1825, came from an American company on the report of their chief engineer, trusted to the discretionary action of an American civil engineer.

"The three locomotives were received in New York in the winter of 1828 and 1829. One of each kind was set up, with the wheels *not* in contact with the ground, and steam being raised, every operation of the locomotive was fully presented except that of onward motion. The locomotive from Stourbridge received its name 'Stourbridge Lion'

from the fancy of the painter, who, finding on the boiler end a circular surface, slightly convex, of nearly four feet diameter, painted on it the head of a lion, filling the entire area, and in bright colors. The river and canal being closed by ice, it was not until the opening of navigation in the spring of 1829 that access was had to the railroad at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, which is at the head of the canal and at the beginning of the railroad.

"When the time came that one of the locomotives was to be sent by river and canal to Honesdale, the 'Stourbridge Lion' was sent. How it happened that the 'Stourbridge Lion' was sent I have no knowledge. In reference to future events, so near by, it is to be regretted that one of the Stephenson locomotives was not sent, and for the reason that the locomotives built for the Delaware & Hudson Canal company by Stephenson were the *prototypes* of the locomotive 'Rocket,' whose performance in October of the same year so astonished the world. The two locomotives from Stephenson that were in New York early in the year 1829, and therefore prior to the trial of the locomotive 'Rocket' in October of that year, were indetical in boiler, engines, plan and appurtenances with the 'Rocket;' and if one of the two engines in hand ready to be sent had been the one used on August 9, the performance of the 'Rocket' in England would have been anticipated in this country. To present the time and incidents of the 'Stourbridge Lion,' *the first locomotive run on this continent*, I have to continue my

personal narrative. Early in the summer of 1829 I had received the appointment of chief engineer of the South Carolina railroad, a road to extend from Charleston, on the ocean, to a point opposite to Augusta, Georgia, on the Savannah river, a road of about one hundred and fifty miles in length; but I was not to go to Charleston to commence my duties until September. Being thus at liberty in July and August, I volunteered to go to Honesdale and take charge of the transfer of the locomotive from the canal-boat to the railroad track, within twenty feet and about eighteen feet above the level of the canal-boat. The line of road was straight for about six hundred feet, being parallel with the canal, then crossing the Lackawaxen creek, by a curve nearly a quarter of a circle long, of radius seven hundred and fifty feet, on trestle-work about thirty feet above the creek, and from the curve extending in a line nearly straight into the woods of Pennsylvania. The road was formed of rails of hemlock timber in section six by twelve inches, supported by caps of timber ten feet from centre to centre. On the surface of the rail of wood was spiked the railroad iron—a bar of rolled two and a quarter inches wide and half an inch thick.

"As the locomotive was seen in mid-air, in its transference from the canal to the railroad, the opportunity was had to see that the axles had an unyielding *parallel* position, there being no king-bolt that provided facility for passing round the curve, and that, therefore, the four wheels holding their rigid posi-

tion were to be forced round the curve by the power of the steam-engine. The locomotive thus seen altogether, impressed the lookers-on as being of great weight. The road having been built of timber in long lengths, and not well seasoned, some of the rails were not exactly in their true position when the time came that they were to carry the locomotive in its onward movement. Under these circumstances the feeling of the lookers-on became general, that either the road would break down under the weight of the locomotive, or, if the curve was reached, that the locomotive would not keep the track, and in its onward motion without support it would dash into the creek with a fall of some thirty feet. On my part, I knew that the road would carry the locomotive safely, and that the curve would be passed without any difficulty. But when the time came, and the steam was of the right pressure, and all was ready, I took my position on the platform of the locomotive alone, and with my hand on the throttle-valve handle, said: 'If there is any danger in this ride it is not necessary that the life and limbs of more than one should be subjected to that danger; that, having no doubt whatever, I was about to take the ride entirely alone, and that the time would come when I should look back with great interest to the ride that was now before me.' The locomotive, having no train behind it, answered at once to the movement of the hand, and there being no doubt as to the result, a motion was had at once in which there was not any evidence of distrust; soon the

straight line was run over, the curve was reached and passed before there was time to think as to its not being passed safely, and soon I was out of sight in the three miles' ride alone in the woods of Pennsylvania. I had never run a locomotive nor any other engine before; I have never run one since; but on the ninth of August, 1829, I ran that locomotive three miles and back to the place of starting, and being without experience or a brakeman, I stopped the locomotive on its return at the place of starting. After losing the cheers of the lookers-on, the only sound, in addition to that of the exhaust steam, was that of a timber structure when the parts are brought into the bearing state. Over half a century passed before I again revisited the track of this first ride on this continent. Then I took care to walk over it in the very early morning, that nothing should interfere with the thoughts and feelings that, left to themselves, would rise to the surface, and bring before me the recollections of the incidents and anticipations of the past, the realization of the present, and again the anticipations of the future. It was a morning of wonderful beauty, and that walk alone will, in time to come, hold its place beside the memory of that ride alone over the same line, the interval being more than fifty years."

From this scene of triumph, Mr. Allen proceeded to another field of similar labor, where results of a character equally important were achieved. From the same source of information as that quoted above, we may take the main points of interest concerning those

labors. "In September of 1829," continues Mr. Allen, "I was at Charleston, South Carolina, to enter on my duties as chief engineer of the South Carolina railroad. I had already learned the general character of the country that the road was to pass through, and the first question to be decided was that of the motive power to be used.* I was prepared to submit a report on the subject at once. . . .

"In that report was presented an estimate of the cost of transportation by horse-power and by locomotive power. The estimate of cost by locomotive power was based on facts ob-

*Mr. Allen furnishes, in this connection, some points of general information of value. On this side of the water some sixteen miles of the Baltimore & Ohio road had been constructed, and was worked by horse-power. On the other side of the Atlantic the Liverpool & Manchester company was the only company that had the subject under consideration, but as yet had not come to a decision, although their chief engineer, George Stephenson, was the able and earnest advocate of the locomotive. In their measures to have before them the fullest information on the subject, the company submitted the question of the motive for the Liverpool & Manchester railroad to two eminent civil engineers for their judgment, after the most thorough examination. The two engineers were James Walker of London and John U. Rastrick of Stourbridge. The two engineers concurred in an elaborate report, presenting their conclusion and plans in great detail. That conclusion was not in favor of locomotive power, but was in favor of a succession of stationary engines transmitting a tractive force by use of long ropes. No more impressive reference to the undeveloped character of the locomotive in England, in 1825, can be presented than that found in the following extract from 'Wood on Railroads,' 1825: "Nothing can do more harm to the adoption of railroads, than the promulgation of such *nonsense* (italic in the original) as that we shall see locomotives traveling at the rate of twelve miles per hour." It is hardly necessary to add, that in a second edition a few years later, this caution of 'Wood on Railroads' is not to be found.

tained on the Stockton & Darlington railroad. The result of that comparison was in favor of locomotive power, and the report contained a decided recommendation that locomotive power should be the power to be used on the South Carolina railroad. But the basis of that official act was not the simple estimate resting on the facts as they existed on the Stockton & Darlington railroad, but, as was stated in the report, was on the broad ground that in the future there was no reason to expect any material improvement in the breed of horses, while in my judgment the man was not living who knew what the breed of locomotives was to place at command. Contrast the eight-wheel locomotive of this day with the four-wheel locomotive of the Stockton & Darlington road, and find some evidence that the position then taken was well taken, and then bear in mind that *the end is not yet*.

"This report was submitted at a full meeting of the board, every member in his seat and the president in his chair. Without leaving their seats the decision was unanimous. The resolution then passed and placed on record was *the first act by a corporate body in the world to adopt the locomotive as the tractive power on a railroad for general passenger and freight transportation*.

"The South Carolina railroad was of the 'age of wooden rails capped with iron. Confidence and capital had not yet reached the growth to make an iron track of the most modest weight per yard a possibility, and steel rails were as unthought of as the telegraph."

Yet another incident, as belonging to the advance of the mechanical department of the railroad, may be narrated in this connection. "That the locomotive," continues Mr. Allen, "was to be used in the night, and during the whole night, was plainly to be anticipated. It was thought well to make trial of such running by night, that it might be known what it was necessary to provide. For such trial two platform cars were placed in front of the locomotive. On the forward platform was placed an enclosure of sand, and on the sand a structure of iron rods somewhat of urn shape. In this structure was to be kept up a fire of pine-wood knots. Suitable signals as to the rate of speed, etc., were provided. The day preceding the evening of the trial closed in with as heavy a fog as I have ever seen, and I have seen a first-class London fog. But the fog did not prevent the trial when the appointed time came. The country to be run through was a dead level, and on the surface rested this heavy fog; but just before we were ready to start the fog began to lift and continued to rise slowly and as uniformly as ever curtain left surface of stage, until about eighteen feet high; there it remained stationary, with an under surface as uniform as the surface it had risen from. This under surface was lit up with radiating lines in all directions with prismatic colors, presenting a scene of remarkable brilliancy and beauty. Under this canopy, lit on its under surface, the locomotive moved onward with a clearly illuminated road before it; the run was continued for some five miles, with no untoward oc-

currence, and I had reason to exclaim, 'The very atmosphere of Carolina says, Welcome the locomotive!'"

Leaving, at this point, Mr. Allen's experiences in the south, let us return for a time to that memorable "Stourbridge Lion," and learn something further in detail of that memorable engine that was the first ever run by steam upon a railroad track in America. Some light is thrown upon the details of this great mechanical episode by David Matthew,* late of Philadelphia, who resided in New York in 1829, and had charge of the men while fitting up the machinery in the shops of the West Point Foundry association, who relates his experiences as follows:

"PHILADELPHIA, December 6, 1859.

"MR. WILLIAM H. BROWN:

"*Dear Sir*.—Yours of the twentieth November is received, inquiring about the first locomotive imported into this country, the first built here, and on what date and railroad it was run. In compliance with your request I herewith with pleasure send you the following history, partly from memory and partly from records and memoranda upon the subject in some documents I have preserved among a file of old papers and documents.

"Sometime about the middle of May, 1829, the locomotive called the 'Stourbridge Lion' arrived from England on the ship *John Fay*. It was landed at the wharf of the West Point Foundry

* From 'The History of the First Locomotive in America.' By William H. Brown. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1874. p. 75. Mr. Matthew's letter is to the author of this book.

works, foot of Beech street, New York city. This engine was in charge of Horatio Allen, esq., assistant engineer of the Delaware & Hudson Canal and Railroad company. The locomotive was blocked up in our yard and steam put to it from our works, and it became the object of curiosity to thousands who visited the works from day to day to see the curious 'critter' go through the motions only, as there was no road for it about the premises. After a short stay in New York, about the first of July it was shipped up the North river to Rondout, for the Delaware & Hudson Canal company, and thence by canal to Carbondale, where it was tried upon their railroad at Honesdale, run a few miles out upon the road, then taken off the track, the road not being sufficiently strong to carry it. It was housed and held for sale for many years."

Another point of interest may be gleaned from the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* of June 12, 1829, as follows: "We yesterday attended the first exhibition of a locomotive-engine, called the 'Lion,' imported by the Delaware & Hudson Canal company, to be used upon their railway. On Wednesday, the engine just imported was tried, and gave such general satisfaction, that the present exhibition was unanimously attended by gentlemen of science and particular intelligence. The engine was put up in Mr. Kemble's manufactory, by Horatio Allen, esq., who went to England to purchase it for the company, and it gives us great satisfaction to say that the most important improvements which have lately been

made in the construction of these engines originated with him. It is of nine horse-power, having a boiler sixteen and a half feet long, with two cylinders, each of three feet stroke. It is calculated to propel from sixty to eighty tons, at five miles per hour. The power is applied to each wheel at about twelve inches from the centre, and the adhesive power of the wheel, arising from the weight of the engine, will give locomotion to the whole structure. The steam was raised by the Lackawaxen coal, and sustained (although there was no friction) at between forty and fifty pounds to the inch. We were delighted with the performance of the engine, and have no doubt but the enterprising company to whom it belongs will reap a rich harvest for their enterprise and perseverance."

The *Dundaff Republican*, published in Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania, under date of July 23, 1829, welcomes the "Lion" to the scene of its famous trip, in these words: "The boats begin to arrive with the traveling-engines and railroad machinery; all is bustle and business. The engine intended for this end of the road is a plain, stout work, of immense height, weighing about seven tons, and will travel four miles per hour, with a train of thirty to thirty-six carriages, loaded with two tons of coal each. The engine is called the 'Stourbridge Lion,' its boiler being built something in shape of that animal, and painted accordingly. Now imagine to yourself the appearance of that animal, the body at least twelve feet in length and five in diameter, traveling at

the rate of four or five miles per hour, together with a host of young ones in train, and you will have some idea of the scene before us; but the enchantment is broken, and in a few days the whole will be set in motion, and we will now give you information that, when the whole is in operation, we shall give a general notice that we intend to hold a day of rejoicing on the completion of the same, and shall give a general invitation to our fellow-citizens to attend. We have procured a large cannon, and intend to station it on the top of the high peak, to sound on the occasion."

Honorable John Torry, a spectator of this initial trip, has left his impressions of the event,* in an extended letter written on March 28, 1870, from which the subjoined extracts are taken: "The locomotive having been transported by canal to Honesdale, the 'Stourbridge Lion' was elevated by the use of a temporary inclined plane to the level of the railroad, and put in running order, and placed upon the rails; and everything thus got in readiness for the trial. On Saturday, August 8,† 1829, the fire was kindled and steam raised, and, under the management of Mr. Horatio Allen, the 'wonderful machine' was found capable of moving, to the great joy of the crowd of excited spectators. After running it back and forth on the portion of the road between the

canal basin and the high railroad bridge across the west branch of the Lackawaxen, Mr. Allen started it, with no person accompanying him, and without any car being attached, and ran it with a good speed around the curve and across the bridge, and up the railroad about one and a half mile, to where the railroad was crossed by a common road-bridge, placed too low to admit of the passage of the locomotive under it. Here he reversed the engine and ran it back to the place of starting, greeted by the shouting cheers of the people and the booming of cannon. Mr. Alva Adams, a mechanic, while assisting to fire the cannon, had his arm so badly shattered that amputation became necessary. After repeating the trial a few times, the 'Stourbridge Lion' was removed from the track, and left standing by the side of the railroad, with no covering but a temporary roof, until the approach of winter. . . . While thus standing by the side of the railroad, it was an object of great dread to timid children, who were obliged to pass by it; and many, now residing in Honesdale, remember the care they were accustomed to take, when children, to avoid passing near the fierce-looking 'lion.' In November, 1829, it was housed in with rough boards, as it thus stood beside the railroad, though some of the boards on the sides were soon displaced to give opportunity for the curious to examine it more readily. It remained where thus housed some fourteen or fifteen years, until so many of its parts were detached or broken, that it was entirely disabled and considered

* *History of the First Locomotive in America*,
p. 85.

† Mr. Allen, who ran the engine, places the date on August 9, 1829. In the work from which Mr. Torry's letter is quoted, August 8 is given as the date in several instances, but one is inclined to accept Mr. Allen as the best authority.

worthless as a locomotive; when the boiler was removed to Carbondale, and used with a stationary engine in one of the company's shops, and the wheels, axles and loose parts were sold for old iron."

It speaks well for American enterprise that, although a number of locomotives were imported during the year succeeding the advent of the "Stourbridge Lion," home capital and home genius were freely devoted to home manufactures, and engines and cars were constructed of the best quality and in abundance on this side of the sea.

The early locomotives built at the West Point foundry of New York have been referred to in the general history foregoing—the "Best Friend," the "De Witt Clinton," etc.; and also the miniature "Tom Thumb," which Peter Cooper constructed almost out of nothing and amid so many discouragements. One of the enterprising Americans who gave his skill and time to the creation of this branch of industry, and who built up a great establishment devoted thereto, was Matthias W. Baldwin of Philadelphia. Full of ingenuity and enterprise, he was engaged in the manufacture of book-binders' tools and calico printers' rolls, in a small shop on Minor street, near Sixth, when the great railroad excitement first touched America and the air was full of the possibilities of steam. He made the designs for and built, in his own shop, a steam-engine intended to supply the motive power for his own machinery. It was novel in its construction in a number of respects, and was very finely finished—a species of

decoration to which not much attention was paid in those days. "Its vertical cylinder, so placed for economy of space, its forked cross-head and pitman guides at the sides of the cylinder, were novelties in the disposition and form of parts, and its bevel wheels, which gave motion to the governor, were without teeth, doing their duty by friction alone, being noiseless, like the beautiful engine whose motion that governor controlled. This little engine, of five horse-power, was the object of much attention among machinists, and excited general admiration by its quiet, though efficient, motion, and the fine finish of its parts."*

Mr. Baldwin was induced to turn his attention to the construction of locomotives, in the following manner: His friend, Franklin Peale, the proprietor of the Philadelphia museum, was anxious to place upon exhibition—to satisfy the intense curiosity of the public upon all points relating to railways—a model of the locomotive. The Camden & Amboy, in the fall of 1830, had imported an English locomotive, which was closely guarded from the public view in a store-house near Philadelphia. Baldwin and Peale paid a visit thereto, and were at first refused admittance, but in some way gained the good-will of the man having it in charge, and were permitted to look it over. After Mr. Baldwin had studied all its parts for half an hour, he turned to his companion and said in a determined way, "I can make it." After four months of close labor,

* 'American Manufacturer,' Vol. II., p. 538. The little machine was still in operation in the Baldwin works as late as 1868.

aided by nothing beyond this inspection and such help as he could get from published descriptions and drawings, he produced a beautiful working model, that was placed on a track laid in the museum in the Arcade, and set to working on April 25, 1831, "making a circuit of the whole suite, and drawing two miniature cars containing seats for four passengers, though eight was often the number, and attracted crowds to witness, for the first time in Philadelphia or Pennsylvania, the effect of steam in railroad transportation."

An enthusiastic friend of railroads, who visited that little pioneer locomotive in May of the same year, has left us voluminous impressions concerning it. "In the meantime," he says, after an extended laudation of the wonders of the railroad, "to prepare everyone for a just estimate of the value of these improvements, which are, like Antonio's goods, 'in supposition,' I would exhort every person to indulge a liberal curiosity by visiting the beautiful engine at the museum, which is at present delighting the public by its wonderful scientific feats. Mr. Baldwin, a distinguished mechanic, has formed that locomotive after the model of the lightest and most beautiful of the English engines, and for grace of action, ease and smoothness of motion, it will not be disparaged by comparison with any impulsive instrument hitherto constructed. On a visit to the museum, I was so much pleased with its performance that I made particular inquiry into its powers, and learned from the intelligent, ingenious and skillful director of the

museum, the following particulars: The railroad, which is constructed of well-seasoned wood, extends entirely round the extensive *suite* of rooms to a length of one hundred and forty yards. Its curves are necessarily very sharp, being on a radius of twenty-four feet. To obviate any risk of overthrow at the curves, projected strips attached to the rails confine the engine car securely to the line. The cars, lightly and elegantly formed, present in the structure of the hind wheels a neat specimen of the ingenious contrivance of Winans for getting rid of much of the friction. That should be carefully examined by those who have not seen it already. The engine, including its boiler, furnace, chimney, cylinder and iron wheels, weighs only two hundred and twenty-four pounds, and looks as if it weighed scarcely so much. The boiler holds about two gallons of water, the cylinder is two inches in diameter, and the length of the motion of the piston is four and five-eighths inches, and it is effected two hundred and sixty-six times per minute. The safety is regulated so as to make the pressure in the boiler sixty pounds on the square inch."

"With this burden," he declares in conclusion, "the engine traversed the whole round of one hundred and forty yards in thirty seconds, going, therefore, at the rate of nine and a half miles per hour. A man of moderate size, by taking along with him fuel and water, the food of this brazen horse, might travel with such a machine upwards of two hundred miles a day, and find his bearer as fresh as when the journey commenced.

The younger part of our readers will be surprised to learn that two gallons of heated water afford the whole power in this case ; for the machine itself merely directs that power, and rather lessens than adds to its energy."

In 1832, when Mr. Baldwin received an order from the Philadelphia & Germantown company for the construction of a locomotive, he undertook the task with energy and certainty of success. It was finished in about six months, and placed on the road on November 23 of the same year—the old "Ironsides," one of the famous locomotives of its day. "The whole work on this memorable pioneer among American locomotives," we are informed in the life of Mr. Baldwin,* "occupied about six months. It was driven forward under a pressure of difficulties which would have disheartened a less determined man. Not the least of these was the lack of any place to do the heavy forging. The only blacksmith shop in the factory was in the cellar, and all the unwieldy work on the engine had to be done in other establishments. While this experiment was still in progress, he had contracted for a more commodious building in Lodge alley, between Seventh and Eighth streets, with a considerable front on Market street. He contrived to move into the new place without losing a day on his favorite work, and here the running gears were attached and everything made ready for the grand trial, which took place November 23, 1832."

At a previous point in this record, mention has been made of the difficulties attending her trial trip, all of which have been carefully avoided by the enthusiastic local chronicler of the day, who, in the columns of the *American Sentinel* of November, 1832, furnishes the public with the following glowing account :

"It gives us pleasure to state that the locomotive-engine, built by our townsman, M. W. Baldwin, for the Philadelphia, Germantown & Norristown Railroad company, has proved highly successful. In the presence of a number of gentlemen of science and information on such subjects, the engine was yesterday placed on the road for the first time. All her parts had been previously highly polished and fitted together in Mr. Baldwin's factory. She was taken totally apart on Tuesday and removed to the company's depot, and yesterday morning she was completely together, ready for travel.

"After the regular passenger-cars had arrived from Germantown in the afternoon, the tracks being clear, preparation was made for her starting. The placing the fire in the furnace and raising the steam occupied twenty minutes. The engine (with her tender) moved from the depot in beautiful style, working with great ease and uniformity.

"She proceeded about half a mile beyond the Union tavern, at the township line, and returned immediately, a distance of six miles, at a speed of about twenty-eight miles to the hour. Her speed having to be greatly slackened at all road crossings, and it being after

*'Memorial of Matthias W. Baldwin,' Philadelphia, 1867 (privately printed), p. 49.

dark, but a portion of her power was used.

"It is needless to say that the spectators were delighted. From this experiment there is every reason to believe this engine will draw thirty tons gross at an average speed of forty miles to the hour, on a level road. The chief superiority of this engine over any of the English ones known consists in the light weight—which is but between four and five tons—her small bulk and the simplicity of her working machinery.

"We rejoice at the result of this experiment, as it conclusively proves that Philadelphia, always famous for the skill of her mechanics, is enabled to produce steam-engines for railroads combining so many superior qualities as to warrant the belief that her mechanics will hereafter supply nearly all the public works of this description in this country, and by our superiority in the adaptation of this motive power, as we have hitherto in navigation, perhaps supply England herself.

"By the company's advertisement in to-day's paper, it will be seen that this engine will take her place regularly on the road this day."

Even better testimony than that of the enterprising newspaper reporter of the day, as to the old "Ironsides" and her early performances, is furnished in the words of a man who is yet living, and who was among the first engineers who had her in charge. James Moore, consulting engineer of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, has prepared an interesting statement,* under date of Eliza-

beth, New Jersey, November 15, 1883, which supplies information of value as to the road, the engine and some of the railroad methods of the day. "The Philadelphia & Germantown railroad," he writes, "was completed and opened for travel with a double track of iron T rails resting on cast iron chairs, which were securely fastened to stone blocks by means of screw-bolts, in the spring of 1832. Peter Wager was then president; Henry R. Campbell, chief engineer, and W. T. Lewis and myself assistant engineers. Four-wheeled cars were used, and were at first propelled by horse-power. This being rather slow process of locomotion, the company entered into a contract with M. W. Baldwin for building a locomotive-steam-engine, to weigh about five tons, at a cost, I think, of less than \$5,000. This engine, named 'Old Ironsides,' was put upon the road and run by one of Mr. Baldwin's chief machinists—a Scotchman by the name of Swanson. He ran it for several weeks, when Mr. Campbell ran it for a couple of weeks, when he turned it over to me, and I ran it during sixty consecutive days, including Sundays, and ending in a snow-storm. We did not stop in any case on account of rain or snow. I have seen it stated in print that the engine would not run on rainy days, but that horses would be used instead. This is a grave error (in my case at least), for I ran it on an average of from sixteen to seventeen hours daily, regardless of the weather. I, therefore, consider it a libel on the engine for any person to make an assertion to the contrary. Whatever repairs became necessary to be made on

* This may be found in the Germantown, Pennsylvania, *Independent*, of December 13, 1884.

the engine were made at night, as there were none other to take its place. Who ran the engine after I left, or what finally became of it, I am unable to say, as I went to another road and obtained a position in my profession as civil engineer. The engine had but four wheels, one pair of which were drivers. The rock-shaft was placed under the foot-board immediately in the rear of the fire-box, and was operated by means of treadles, which were moved by the foot. The wheels had cast-iron hubs, wooden spokes and wrought-iron tires. The valve motion was a loose eccentric for each cylinder. When in motion the engine could only be stopped by changing the eccentric on the axle by using the foot-treadles. To move forward or backward, from a state of rest, the eccentric had to be changed again by the same means. The engine could not be reversed from the forward to the backward motion, or *vice versa*, by one movement of the eccentric only. It required two : First to throw it out of gear from one motion, when it would stop, then into gear for the other. When starting from a station with an extra heavy train, it was necessary to move the valves with hand-levers, which were attached to the rock-shaft, and when well under way to throw the eccentric into gear by means of the foot-treadles. The advantage of working the valves by hand-levers, when starting, will be apparent when it is considered that they were thrown wide open instantaneously, instead of gradually, and thus giving a full head of steam at once. Many trains were started in this

way that could not have been started otherwise.

"As previously stated, the engine was to have weighed about five tons, when, in fact, it weighed nearer seven tons, and on that account the railroad company were seriously deliberating whether it was not too heavy for the road ; and I believe had it not been for the strenuous efforts of Mr. Campbell and myself, they would have rejected it. If they had thrown it back on Mr. Baldwin's hands at that time, it is very doubtful whether he would have ever built another.

"Four-wheeled passenger-cars were used at this time, and the body was suspended upon leather thorough-braces, similar to the old-fashioned Concord coaches. The seats were placed around on the inside, so that the passengers rode facing each other. A double row of seats was placed upon the top of the cars also, and passengers sat back to back. When collecting fares, the conductor did not enter the car for that purpose, but passed around on the outside on a foot-board, and made his collections. There were no brakes either upon the engine or the cars, consequently the train had to be stopped by reversing the engine. Sometimes the eccentrics would stick fast, so as not to revolve, in which case the engine could not be moved in either direction. This occurred on several occasions before the cause of it was discovered, and it caused considerable anxiety to Mr. Baldwin."

"One of the very few moments of

despondency in his whole life," continues the biographer of Mr. Baldwin, already quoted, "was occasioned by the ungracious reception awarded to this machine. In the spring of 1833, when he finally received \$3,500 for his work—\$500 less than the contract—he remarked to one of his apprentices, 'This is our last locomotive.' The remark was called to mind when the same apprentice, now an officer in the factory, happened to notice 1,500 on the engine erected at the time of Mr. Baldwin's death."

It was declared by the newspapers of the day that the "Ironsides," was capable of carrying thirty tons, at an average speed of forty miles an hour, although its own weight, because of the restrictions of the company purchasing, was but between four or five tons.*

"No one need be told that when the rails are wet there is less adhesion than at other times, and as the grades were steep, it is not surprising that one of the lightest engines ever built was unable to draw all the cars, and all the crowd that panted for the novelty of a trip by steam. The company, however, appear not to have been satisfied with its performances, and demanded a reduction of \$500 from the contract price, which was \$3,500. His initial experiment in building locomotives was not, therefore,

encouraging to Mr. Baldwin, and it is probable that, at that time, he did not expect to live to see the day when No. 1,500 (1868) would be placed on an engine of this description constructed in his shops."

Again taking up the thread of American railway invention running through the United States patent office, we find protection of that character accorded in 1830 to Ezra Child of Philadelphia, for a rotary steam-engine for propelling carriages on railroads. It was vouched for as an invention of great value by Dr. Jones, the editor of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, while the *United States Gazette* of Philadelphia declared it to give promise of great use, "especially in propelling carriages on railroads, upon which it may be made to ascend at almost any desired angle; it is remarkably compact, of very trifling weight, and will draw a carriage at unusual velocity; it may be made at one-quarter of the expense of Mr. Stephenson's."

The extent to which the inventors of America were interested in railway mechanics may be inferred from the fact that in 1830 seven patents were issued for improvements on the steam engine, and twelve relating to railroads. Among these were one to Samuel Lane of Hallowell, Maine, for an endless chain and railway horse-power; to Thomas Ewbank, New York, for preventing the explosion of boilers; to Aaron B. Quimby of Hagerstown, Maryland, for the same; I. Loughhead and J. B. Chapman, Philadelphia, guard for the same, etc., etc. In March, 1831, the

* 'American Manufactures,' Vol. II., p. 539: "Among the Notices in Poulson's *American Advertiser* of that period, is the following novel advertisement:

'Notice.—The Locomotive Engine, built by M. W. Baldwin of this city, will depart daily when the weather is fair, with a train of passenger-cars. On rainy days horses will be attached.'

American Steam-Carriage company was formed in Philadelphia, composed of Colonel Stephen H. Long, United States army, William Norris and others, for the purpose of building locomotives after a plan prepared by Colonel Long. The first engine built at the Phoenix foundry, Kensington, proved a failure, but the second one was a success; and out of this beginning came the Norris Locomotive works, an enterprise that afterwards grew to considerable importance.

During this year, 1831, the Mohawk & Hudson imported from England an engine made under George Stephenson's direction, that was mounted on four wheels, all drivers, and weighed near seven tons. The wheels were four feet in diameter, and the axles four and a half feet apart, or from centre to centre. Some observations that grew out of its operations, as noted by John B. Jervis, the eminent civil engineer,* may be pertinent as illustrating the point to which this department of railway knowledge and operation had then grown. "The performance of the engine," he writes, "was at that time satisfactory as to power. The frame was twelve feet long, and the axles being four and a half feet apart, it projected beyond the bearing on the axles near four feet each way. It was readily observed that a vertical inequality in the surface of the rails caused a vertical motion at the ends of the frame of about double this unequal.

ity, producing an unsteady and shaking motion to the frame of the engine, very unfavorable to the machinery and the engine-men. It was further evident that this leverage action of the frame was unfavorable to the track. The first thought for a remedy for this difficulty was to spread the axles further apart; but to do this to such an extent as would materially remedy the evil was at the same time considered inadmissible, on account of the increased labor and danger it would cause in passing curves in the line of railway. The track of the Mohawk & Hudson company was a well-constructed one of the kind, very direct, and in good order, probably as smooth at the time referred to as any railway: it was a flat bar or plate rail, laid on southern pine rail timbers, well secured: still the action before mentioned was very unsatisfactory. My observations on the action of the Mohawk & Hudson engine led me to inquire into some means of providing a remedy. There had been six-wheeled engines put in operation, but they were on a single frame, the third pair of wheels merely added for support, and all worked in the single rigid frame; at that time no six-wheeled engine, or of more than six wheels, had been successfully run at high speed. It appeared important to provide guiding wheels that should be geared favorably to follow the track, and support one end of the engine frame, so that the engine and all its working parts would be supported by the same rigid frame as on the four-wheeled plan.

"While engaged in these considerations

* 'Railway Property: A Treatise on the Construction and Management of Railways.' By John B. Jervis, New York, 1861, p. 156.

the attempt was made by a fellow-engineer to mount an engine on eight wheels, geared as two wagons, so coupled that each would be free to conform to the curves of the rail, and the machinery to conform to the changing parallels of the two wagons by movable joints. Here was the idea of working two wagons, so coupled as to constitute an eight-wheeled vehicle, but without a common rigid frame, and consequently the machinery, resting on two separate frames, depended on their movable joints to adapt them to the changes of parallelism constantly taking place on the rail. A similar effort had previously been made to adapt two wagons as support for an eight-wheeled engine, but the plan had not succeeded in a manner to be practically useful. It did not appear to me that any plan would succeed that did not provide a rigid frame for the engine machinery. The difficulty appeared to be in obtaining a connection between two frames that should work free and be secure on the rail under high speed. There was no doubt it would work well at low speed; but nothing of the kind had been adapted to, or previously attempted for, high speed, then much demanded for railway travel. Two four-wheeled cars or wagons had been coupled together so as to form one eight-wheeled car for transporting long timber and heavy stone, but it gave no confidence for high speed."

Mr. Jervis devoted a great deal of time and labor to the solution of this problem, and finally evolved a plan which came into general use in the country. For its leading features it had

a guiding truck, or four-wheeled car, arranged as best adapted for following curves on the rail and keeping on the track and at the same time supporting steadily the forward end of the engine frame. His plan was prepared in the fall of this year, and sent to the West Point Foundry association. The engine was accordingly built and placed on the Mohawk & Hudson railway in the summer of 1832. This was the "Brother Jonathan," and its working satisfied Mr. Jervis that the truck principle would be successful, "though," as he tells us, "the engine was not so in other respects, the attempt having been made to adapt the boiler to the use of anthracite coal, and this required to be changed, which was done the following winter. I then prepared a new plan for an engine for the Saratoga & Schenectady railway, following substantially the same plan, except as to the boiler, and sent it to George Stephenson, esq., of Liverpool, who constructed the engine, and it was placed on the Saratoga & Schenectady railway early in the following summer."

In the summer of 1832 a statistical editor, interested in railways, furnishes us with a collection of facts concerning locomotives then in use, and the results of their labors. One of Stephenson's build had made a trip from New Castle to Frenchtown, a distance of sixteen and a half miles, with a tender and passenger-car, in fifty-two minutes, and returned with a train of seven burthen-cars and one passenger-car. "She ascended the hill near Frenchtown, where the rise is thirty feet in a mile, with considerable labor, but without

stopping, and after that went off at the rate of ten miles an hour—the last five and a half miles were passed over in twenty-eight minutes. The whole weight moved was estimated at fifty tons.” Four new locomotives have been ordered for the Charleston & Hamburg ; and one has arrived from Liverpool for the Baltimore & Susquehanna. “The locomotive of Davis & Gardiner of York, Pennsylvania,” has been started on the Baltimore & Ohio, “with the entire train of cars destined for Ellicott’s Mills, fourteen in number, the whole load weighing fifty tons. She went off in gallant style, at the rate of twelve miles an hour, but after proceeding some distance was stopped to make an alteration in certain of her fixtures, and returned to the depot.” A few days later it is said of the same engine that “twenty-five tons were carried thirteen miles in an hour and five minutes, the first seven miles being traveled in thirty-four minutes. The remainder was passed at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour. The fuel was anthracite coal, and there was more than enough steam through the latter half of the distance, where the greatest power was needed.”

A fruitful experiment was tried on the Baltimore & Ohio in the fall of 1832, when steel springs were placed on the locomotive “York,” and were found to answer so well that they were afterwards placed on the passenger and freight-cars. The road, in its then imperfect and unfinished condition, was of necessity rough and uneven, and it was found that the springs greatly assisted in maintaining an easy motion and diminishing

the jar consequent upon curvatures and disjunctures of the rail. It was also found that in applying them to the freight-cars they allowed a considerable increase in the load without involving a *pro rata* destruction of the rail or requiring an increase of motive power.

In the summer of 1833 we find it recorded in the Philadelphia *Daily Chronicle*, that the locomotive “Pennsylvania,” invented and built by Colonel Long—whose first had proved a failure—had been fairly tried on the Germantown road, and approved. Experiments showed that it was capable of drawing thirty-two tons on a level road, at a speed of fifteen miles an hour, and that with ease. The weight of the engine was four and a half tons, the boilers evaporated two hundred gallons in an hour, in which time they caused the consumption of something less than two bushels of anthracite coal, the only fuel used. The wheels were made of wood, each with an iron tire of three parallel concentric circular bands. It was added that Colonel Long had employed himself for some time past in experiments in the use of anthracite coal for the production of steam, and had succeeded “in a degree above the most sanguine expectations with which he started.” With his arrangement of the furnace and the flue, it could be used to better advantage than the best pine wood. “It sends forth no sparks to burn or alarm passengers careful of their dresses, and emits no disagreeable or pernicious vapor ; and it enables the director to travel without the encum-

brance of a tender, as the fuel and the water are both carried on the engine." At about the same time "a new locomotive-engine, constructed by Mr. R. L. Stevens" (of Hoboken), was placed on the Camden & Amboy, and performed good work. "The rate of going has not yet been settled," adds the account, "but the greatest curves have been passed at the rate of forty miles an hour, because of certain improvements made in the axle-trees. The rate of twenty-five or thirty miles an hour, it seems, is attained without any seeming effort. The capacity to generate steam has also been much improved; and, from the experiments made, it is hoped that anthracite coal may be used for that purpose." Further knowledge of the same engine may be gained from the *United States Gazette*, which contains a communication describing it in full, under date of June 12, 1833. "I was yesterday," says the writer, "in crossing New Jersey, compelled to stop by the way, and was so much gratified with the operations of a locomotive-engine on the Camden & Amboy railroad that I avail myself of your column to make it known to the public. This engine, I understand, is the second one completed for this company by Mr. Stevens, with improvements on the English engine imported by them. Six or seven more, it is said, will be added in a few weeks, when this species of power will be used on this road. This engine, though only put up on Monday, and never before worked on a road, yesterday ran from Amboy to Bordentown in the most admirable manner. The dis-

tance from Highstown to Bordentown was performed at the rate of eighteen miles an hour. The speed was occasionally increased to thirty miles, and could evidently have been very much accelerated. My object, however, in noticing it, is to call public attention to an invention by which all difficulties from curvation in railroads are overcome, and the advantage is so obvious that one is astonished in looking at it that the idea has never before occurred to those interested in the subject. The difficulty from curves in the line of a railroad has arisen from the axle of the wheel of the carriage being stationary—their tendency to a direct line and the consequent increase of friction from the action and lateral pressure of the flanges of the wheel upon the edge of the rail. In carriages drawn by horses the draughts have a tendency to remove the difficulty by inclining the carriage to the direction of the line which is pursued by the horse. It was necessary to overcome it altogether to enable a carriage to run as free on a curve as on a straight line. By the improvement alluded to this desideratum is attained.

"I am no mechanic, but perhaps can make myself sufficiently explicit to be understood. The improvements consist simply in a change in the mode of attaching the axle to the carriage. The boxes, instead of being stationary in the frame of the carriage, work upon a sliding plane so as to admit of a change in the position of the wheels. The ends of the axle run in a strong frame-work, which is projected in front of the carriage and is there attached to the axle

of the two smaller wheels. As the carriage is propelled forward these guide-wheels follow the direction of the track, and always preserve the parallelism of the carriage-wheels with the rails. I witnessed several experiments on the most severe curves on the line. The result was uniform and the success was complete. The flange never touched or run near the rail. It was manifest, on an examination of the wheels at Bordentown, that this had been the case throughout, although the curves had purposely been passed at the highest speed of the engine. I understand that this was but a repetition of prior experiments made with another engine on a carriage of the same construction, with which a train of ten cars, besides the tender and a weight, exclusive of the carriage, equal to 340 passengers, was propelled without the slightest impediment over all that portion of the line from which any difficulty could be anticipated."

The writer concludes with an opinion that Mr. Stevens will secure a patent for "this valuable invention," overlooking the fact that it was by no means new in principle, as it was a part of the combination claimed to have been invented by James Wright of Columbia, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of causing railroad-cars to pass with equal facility on curved or straight roads, for which he obtained a patent in September, 1829. He also overlooked the fact that a *vi-brating axle* was provided for in the patent granted Ross Winans in October, 1828.

The "Atlantic," which had been

doing good service upon the Baltimore & Ohio ever since it was turned out of the shops at York, was one of the machines upon which the eyes of railroad managers were fixed, and in July of this year, an account of the manner in which it had performed its duties was furnished the public through the columns of the Baltimore *Gazette*. At the date of writing it had been running for four or five months from Baltimore to the foot of the inclined planes, a distance of forty miles, and back again on the same day. The notes taken of its performances thereon were thus given: Upon this portion of the road thirty-three miles are ascending, at various grades, of from ten to forty feet per mile, exceeding in the ascent twenty feet per mile on the average, and the whole forty miles is almost a constant succession of curves of four hundred feet radius and upwards. Upon this road the Atlantic has drawn, on the outward or ascending trip, thirty tons at the least, at the rate of seventeen miles per hour, with only fifteen tons. Her practicable speed exceeds any safe limit on a curved road. The "Atlantic" has drawn ninety-two tons on a level, at the speed of nine miles to the hour, and has brought seventy-two tons from the half-way house, six miles, to Baltimore, at a rate of twelve miles to the hour, on the level parts of the road, passing two summits, of sixteen feet per mile, for half a mile, each at the rate of six miles an hour. The train which recently brought in the President weighed forty tons, and passed over the same distance at the average speed of fifteen miles an hour.

The power of the engine is such as to overcome the adhesion of the bearing wheels, of soft metal on dry rails, with four tons' weight resting on them—in other words, when too great a weight is attached to the engine, or too steep an ascent attempted with her, the wheels fly round on the rails without moving the car. This shows the ample supply of the steam, and in a new engine now building it is designed to couple the wheels so as to employ the adhesion of all four, with the view to render the superabundant steam available. The motion of the piston, compared with that of the wheels or progressive motion of the engine, is as one to five and one-half. The only fuel employed is anthracite coal, which burns without any difficulty, and it is believed with more economy and convenience than any other. The trip of eighty miles per day is performed with one ton of it.

The *Scotsman*, a few months later, publishes an account of the performances of a locomotive on the Garnkirk & Glasgow road, in hauling a train of seventy loaded cars from Gartgill colliery to the depot at Glasgow, a distance of eight miles, in one hour and five minutes. "The gross weight of the wagons was two hundred and eighty-

seven and a half tons, and of the engine and tender fourteen tons seven hundred-weight, making a total of three hundred and one tons seventeen hundredweight. A great proportion of the distance is quite level. The ordinary resistance on a level line is nine pounds per ton, so that the engine must have been exerting a power of about two thousand seven hundred and eighteen pounds. The diameter of the cylinder is twelve and a half inches, the length of the stroke twenty-two, and the pressure at fifty-five pounds per square inch. The train extended over a distance of upwards of two hundred and seventy yards, and presented to view a grand and interesting spectacle, while it afforded a most wonderful exhibition of locomotive power to those who take an interest in the important National question of the improvement of our internal means of communication."

The growing trade upon the Baltimore & Ohio, and the rapid increase of its rolling stock, induced that company to take an important onward step in 1833, in the erection of shops of their own at Mount Clare for the manufacture and repair of their machinery, considerable difficulty having been experienced in letting the work out by contract.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[To be continued.]

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

JAMES S. T. STRANAHAN.

The Honorable James S. T. Stranahan of Brooklyn, New York, has been active in so many fields of public and private usefulness, that only a glance

at all the features of his long career will convey an idea of the amount of good work he has been able to perform, and the results of that work will stand as a perpetual monument to his memory. He comes of a family noted for thrift, industry and high character. The first of that family that settled in America was James Stranahan, who settled in 1725, in Scituate, Rhode Island, and brought to his new home, as among his best possessions, the strong and self-reliant virtues of his Scotch-Irish ancestors. He proved himself a prosperous and intelligent farmer, and died in Plainfield, Connecticut, in 1792. James, the eldest of his three sons, a thrifty farmer and revolutionary soldier, also lived and died at Plainfield, and his fifth son, Samuel, born 1772, married Lynda Josselyn, and became one of the first settlers of Peterboro, Madison county, New York. His son, James S. T. Stranahan, was born at that place on April 25, 1808. His childhood was spent on the home farm and among his father's mills, with the usual winter schooling, until he was seventeen years of age, when he assumed the responsibility of his own support. He continued his studies for a time in the academies of the county, to which he added the discipline of one year's teaching, and found himself fitted for the duties of a civil engineer; but abandoning his purpose of a life in that profession, in a larger view of opening trade with the Indians, he visited in 1827-8 the region of the upper lakes. But after several interviews with General Cass, then governor of the territory of Michigan, and

several journeys of exploration in the then western wilderness, he abandoned that project and formed a partnership with some gentlemen of Albany for dealing in wool. In 1832 he was persuaded by Gerrit Smith, who had known him from early years, to undertake the founding of a manufacturing village in a township owned by Mr. Smith, in Oneida county. He undertook the enterprise with all the enthusiasm and vigor of a young man, and by his great executive and organizing power, made it a success—the town of Florence increasing from a population of a few hundred to that of two or three thousand. In 1838 Mr. Stranahan was sent from Florence to the assembly, being elected on a Whig ticket from a Democratic county, and although comparatively young, he was judged a fitting compeer for men of the first ability, an unusual number of whom were gathered in that assembly, owing to the political struggle connected with the suspension of specie payment, and the agitation of the Sub-treasury act urged upon congress by the then President Van Buren.

In 1840 Mr. Stranahan removed to Newark, New Jersey, and became largely interested in the construction of railroads. He was one of the first of those far-sighted men who, foreseeing the value of railroad property, took stock in payment for construction, and thus became the owners and controllers of the roads they had built. In 1844 Mr. Stranahan removed to Brooklyn, where the people so well recognized his usefulness in the discharge of public

trusts, that he was not allowed to remain long in retirement. In 1848 he was elected alderman of Brooklyn, and was nominated for mayor of the city in 1850, but defeated. In 1854, during the tremendous excitement growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and when the north was aflame over the anti-slavery agitation, Mr. Stranahan was nominated for congress, and although he ran in a district that was strongly Democratic, he was triumphantly elected after a most vigorous contest. In the house of representatives his course was marked by a rigid attention to duty, and he served his constituents and the country with the utmost fidelity during the stormy period which he passed in Washington.

In 1857, when the first metropolitan police commission was organized, Mr. Stranahan was appointed a member, and was active in that board during the struggle between the new force and the old New York municipal police, who revolted under the leadership of Fernando Wood, then mayor. During this time Mr. Stranahan was an earnest Republican, although never allowing his party animosities to influence his personal relations. In 1864 he was made one of the Presidential electors on the Lincoln and Johnson ticket, a fitting consummation of his previous action as a delegate from the state of New York to the Republican National conventions of 1860 and 1864, in both of which he voted for the nomination of Lincoln for the Presidency.

It is needless to say that Mr. Stranahan was a devoted adherent to his

country's cause all through the War of the Rebellion, and that his aid was given in all possible ways to the support of that cause. He served as president of the war fund committee, an organization of over one hundred leading men of Brooklyn, whose generous patriotism originated in the sessions of this organization, the *Brooklyn Union*, that there might be one journal of that city in full accord with the government. Its purpose was to encourage enlistments, raise money for the soldiers and further the efforts of government in the prosecution of the war by every means. Mr. Stranahan's vigorous qualities, his great executive ability and his confident view of the future were of untold service in promoting the efficiency of the committee, so that it did not flag in its efforts till the country's need ceased in the subduing of the rebellion. In the sanitary aid it rendered it was allied with the Woman's Relief association, of which Mrs. Stranahan was president, and through the combined efforts of the two organizations culminating in the great sanitary fair, four hundred thousand dollars in money were paid into the sanitary fund at one time. Since the war Mr. Stranahan, although true to the principles of the Republican party, has taken little or no part in politics.

But it is in connection with the various public enterprises of Brooklyn that Mr. Stranahan has done his most effective public work, and made his stamp upon the city's development so deep that it shall last for all time. His extended services as the head of the

park commission opened a field of labor for which he was conspicuously fitted. Becoming president of the commission under the legislative act of 1860, he remained in office until 1882, and under his direction the plans for Prospect park were matured and carried into execution and this magnificent pleasure-ground will ever remain a monument to the ability and skill with which he gratuitously served the community. He was also the father of the splendid system of boulevards, the Ocean Parkway and Eastern Parkway, which give to Brooklyn a system of drives unsurpassed by any in the world. The Concourse at Coney island also grew out of his instrumentality, and but for the meagre appropriations by the county authorities, would have been of even greater benefit to the public than it is. No wonder that the Brooklyn *Eagle*, a journal politically opposed to Mr. Stranahan, felt compelled to voice the truth and public opinion in these words: "Prospect park is pre-eminently his work. But for his foresight and perseverance we should not now be in possession of that noble resort; or, if possessed of it, the purchase money would have been double the amount paid under Mr. Stranahan. . . By projecting the Boulevard and the Concourse he may be said to have called the Coney island of to-day into existence, an existence which has already been worth a great deal more to Brooklyn than the cost of all the public works in which he has a hand, and which must go on increasing in value. The truth is that Mr. Stranahan

is one of the very few men who have creative genius. In the not remote future, the question will be asked by intelligent writers, Who were the real architects of Brooklyn? Who were the men who lifted her out of the cow-paths of village advance and put her on the broad track of metropolitan importance? When that question is answered, the name named with greatest honor will be that of James S. T. Stranahan."

To this remarkable foresight must be added, in any enumeration of Mr. Stranahan's mental qualities, his patient waiting for results after once adopting a course approved by his best judgment. He is patient with the views of those of less experience than himself, and in all his extensive operations has been open to advice and suggestions from those connected with him or under him. His management of the park employes during the twenty-two years of his control of that department was a practical exemplification of the civil service reform, the practical proof of which lies in the fact that at the time he left the park commission the foreman and clerks had been in the department for the whole of his term, and even the laborers averaged five years' service. The same commendable course was pursued by Mr. Stranahan all through his personal business career.

Mr. Stranahan's aid and influence have been given to yet other improvements in the city of his chosen home. Under his direction was developed the great Atlantic dock improvement with its one mile of solid warehouses surrounding a basin of forty acres, the most

extensive and complete undertaking of its kind in this country, and of which he is the principal owner. The Union Ferry company for thirty-five years has had the advantage of his counsel and assistance. Mr. Stranahan¹ is among the oldest members of the chamber of commerce and holds a similar relation to the leading moneyed and charitable institutions in Brooklyn.

While the great East River bridge, that binds New York and Brooklyn in such close commercial and social union, is in a measure opposed to the interests of the Atlantic docks in which Mr. Stranahan is so deeply interested, that fact did not for a moment stand in the way of his advocacy of a measure that he felt was for the general good. He was connected with the bridge from the outset and one of the board of directors and trustees, up to the time of its completion, serving as a member of the executive committee, and upon nearly all the important special committees appointed during its construction. He was selected to preside over the interesting exercises with which the bridge was formally opened to public use on May 24, 1883, and president of the board at the time of his retiring from the duties of trustee, in 1885, being at the time the only remaining member of the original board.

Mr. Stranahan has for years taken strong ground, in public speeches and elsewhere, in favor of the consolidation of New York and Brooklyn under one municipal government. In an address delivered at the annual banquet of the chamber of commerce on May 8, 1883,

he pointed out the advantages of such union in a few words that were as happy and as brief a statement of the case as any man could have made, and one does not know which to most admire, the clearness of expression or the weight of argument thrown into a little space. In the course of that address he said :

" Mr. Chairman, Brooklyn has another idea, and it has long had it, the accomplishment of which she hopes will be facilitated by this bridge. The Thames flows through the heart of London, and the Seine through the heart of Paris ; but in neither case have you two cities. It is London on both sides of the Thames, and Paris on both sides of the Seine. The corporate unity is not dis severed by either river. Numerous bridges make the connection between the two sides in both cities ; and it is best for both that it should be so. The population on neither side would be advantaged by being split up into two municipalities. (Applause.)

" Here, however, we have our New York city and our Brooklyn, with the East river rolling between them. They are distinct cities, in immediate contiguity with each other, and separated by a water highway. Is this distinctness of municipality any advantage to either ? I think not. Would the consolidation of these two cities into one municipal corporation be any harm to either ? I think not. The people are the same people, have the same manners and customs, and have common commercial and social interests ; and one municipal government would serve them quite as well as two, and at far less cost. I

know of no reason why this distinctness should be continued other than the fact that it exists ; and I confess I see no good reason why it should exist at all. I may be mistaken, but I think that the public sentiment of Brooklyn would cordially welcome a consolidation of the two cities under the title of New York. The East River bridge, now superadded to the ferry system, will, as Brooklyn hopes, so affiliate the two in heart and sympathy, and so facilitate their mutual intercourse, that both, without any special courtship on either side, will alike ask the legislature of the state to enact the ceremony of a municipal marriage ; and if this shall be done, then I venture to predict that each will be so happy and so well contented with the other that neither will ever seek a divorce." (Applause.)

Mr. Stranahan's latest appearance, in connection with public events, was in November, 1888, when he was elected by the state of New York as one of her electors at large, in the electoral college, upon the Republican ticket. An appearance of a somewhat different character, but illustrating the honor in which this gentleman is held, occurred on the evening of December 13 of the same year, and which is thus described by the *Brooklyn Eagle*: "The *Eagle* to-day reports the merited but remarkable tribute to the Honorable James S. T. Stranahan, tendered last night by a representative gathering of his fellow-Brooklynites. The occasion was a recognition of signal achievement, of magnificent character, of splendid abilities and of the fact that the chief citi-

zen of this city has passed the eightieth milestone on the road of life, his eye undimmed and his natural force not abated. The event informally divided itself into a social greeting of the distinguished guest in the parlors of the club house, before the assemblage in the dining-room into the banquet proper, and into the addresses of tribute and felicitation which followed. Each event was a marked success. The venerable guest of the evening required no introduction to those who thronged around him. Each had for him a hearty salutation. For each he had an apt and courteous acknowledgment. Mr. Stranahan never looked, and said he never felt, better. A larger assemblage of members and friends of the Hamilton hardly ever gathered in its halls. If there had been any doubt of the ability of the committee in charge to make the occasion the climacteric one in the history of the club, the representative attendance and the perfection of arrangements removed that doubt."

Mr. Stranahan has been twice married. His first wife, Marianne Fitch, was a native of Westmoreland, New York, to whom he was married in 1837. She was a most excellent wife and mother, and died in August, 1866. His second wife was Miss Clara C. Harrison, a native of Massachusetts, a lady of culture, refinement and high mental and moral qualities, and devoted to many causes of a benevolent and reformatory character.

Mr. Stranahan's great business ability can be guessed somewhat from the foregoing, and repetition upon that point is

needless. His personal qualities are such as to commend him to the highest appreciation and honor in the community in which he has so long resided. He has, in daily life, a genial appreciation of others, a sympathetic manner and a keen sense of humor. He has a wit based in his clear picturing of thought, which enables him easily to shift some feature of it and turn the whole into comedy; or, when not humorous, to make his conversation striking and picturesque. As one who knows

him well has said: "Looking at his face, you see that he is a man having a far-reaching intellect, and viewing his work, you become aware that he has not less resources of energy. A wise legislator, a promoter of great public works, a comprehensive man of business, a philanthropist and a Christian, he has in each of these stations done an able part, which will adorn coming history as well as the record of his own times."

JAMES M. MARVIN.

James M. Marvin of Saratoga Springs, New York, was born at Ballston, Saratoga county, New York, on the twenty-seventh of February, 1809, and has, therefore, passed the threescore limit with his natural force unabated. to enjoy the fruits of an active life and a well-directed industry.

The years of his business activity cover a period prolific with inventions, increasing material prosperity, among which the railroad from a questionable experiment developed into that marvelous system of transportation and communication, without which the wonderful progress of this country would have been impossible.

Always an appreciative friend of the railroad, he has contributed to, as well as profited by, its success. Mr. Marvin is a direct descendant of Matthew Marvyn, who was born in England in 1600, and who emigrated from the port of London to New England, with his wife and five children, in the ship *Increase*, Robert Lee, master, in 1635.

The records of Westminster hall show that Matthew Marvyn having taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy as also, being conformable, etc., was permitted to embark. Matthew Marvyn was one of the original proprietors of Hartford, Connecticut, and was among the pioneers in the settlement of Norwalk, which he represented in the general court in 1654. From this pilgrim stock Mr. Marvin inherited the energy, courage and broad views which have contributed to his prosperity and popularity.

Mr. Marvin spent his boyhood on a farm, receiving a good English education, but soon found the field of agriculture too narrow for one whose capital consisted principally in his business abilities and enterprise.

In 1830 the growing reputation of Saratoga Springs attracted his attention, and believing it offered a promising field for success, he removed thither, and from thenceforth it became the home of his choice. He soon became



J. M. M. Currier

identified with the United States hotel, and under his management it became the most famous summer hotel in the world and the resort of the wealth and fashion of the United States.

It also became a favorite resort of politicians and the headquarters in summer of the Albany regency. In succeeding years, Clay, Van Buren, Webster, Buchanan, Marcy, Silas Wright, John Slidell, Robert Winthrop and a host of others became the guests and friends of Mr. Marvin, and with their followers met and discussed the varying political situations of the country under the invigorating influences of the salubrious air of Saratoga.

In 1846 Mr. Marvin was chosen to represent one of the districts of the county of Saratoga in the state legislature, and during this session application was made for the charter of the Hudson River railroad. This project was warmly opposed by those interested in the Harlem railroad, who constituted a large and powerful body. The usual argument, that the chartering of a rival road would endanger the success of the Harlem and render the possibility of the success of both projects doubtful, was urged before the legislature. Mr. Marvin having great faith in the beneficial results of railroad enterprises, became warmly interested in the contest in favor of the Hudson River railroad, and to his popularity among the members of assembly and his energy and sagacity was attributed the success of procuring a charter at that session. In after years Mr. Marvin became a warm and intimate friend of the late Commo-

dore Vanderbilt, and when that distinguished railroad magnate acquired a controlling interest in the Hudson River railroad, he chose Mr. Marvin as a member of the first board of directors and continued him in that position. Mr. Marvin had abundant reason to congratulate himself on the magnificent success of an enterprise to which years before he had given an ardent and disinterested support.

Mr. Marvin was for many years a director of the Saratoga & Schenectady railroad, which was among the first railroads constructed in the state of New York and to which he made large concessions of land for terminal facilities.

In 1862 Mr. Marvin was elected representative to the Thirty-eighth congress and was reelected to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth congresses. He served with credit on various important committees and enjoyed the warm friendship of all the prominent men of both political parties.

With the growth and prosperity of Saratoga Mr. Marvin has been largely identified. In addition to many offices of trust and honor, he has been foremost among public-spirited citizens in efforts to make his adopted home the queen of American watering-places. The necessity of pure water, of perfect drainage, of broad avenues and beautiful drives was fully appreciated by him, and largely by his wise counsels these great advantages have been secured.

In September, 1838, Mr. Marvin was married to Miss Rhoby Barnum, daughter of Eli Barnum of Ballston, an intel-

ligent and beautiful woman, and recently they had the rare pleasure of passing their golden wedding amid the congratulations of children and grandchildren and hosts of admiring friends. A life

of active usefulness and unquestioned integrity has been fitly crowned by length of days and universal respect and esteem.

W. T. HILDRUP.

War has its heroes, statesmanship its lights, and not less do the great industries possess historical interest, embracing pluck, perseverance and individual talent, as marked in its way and as necessary to the regular progress of prosperity and wealth to a great commonwealth as the courage of a soldier or the pen of a statesman. Civil life and industrial advance are due to the same forces of character that in war and statesmanship attain credit and renown. The heroes of success in peaceful life are brave, patient, persistent men, devoted to the plan and purpose adhered to under all the changes and fluctuations incident to a period of years that our history is so full of; and to such men do we owe the grand, amazing developments of the National resources—its iron, its coal and its forest—wealth nowhere more apparent than in the great state of Pennsylvania. And the conception, organization and successful building up of our leading manufactories embrace instructive lessons of history and teachings for our young men of talent, who have life's duties and interests before them. The Harrisburg Car Manufactory of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is one of those from a small beginning, prominent for the illustration of the life and labors of its manager, W. T. Hildrup, a sketch of whose life we herewith give.

William Thomas Hildrup, treasurer and general manager of the Harrisburg car works and its kindred manufactories, was born in Middletown, Connecticut, February 6, 1822, and is the son of Jesse Hildrup of Hartford, in the same state. He obtained his education in the common schools of the district, and was an apt and advanced scholar, especially in studies of a mathematical character.

Having learned the carpenter trade, at the age of nineteen years he started out in life, with the sum of twenty-five dollars and a plain set of carpenter's tools, with such energy, capacity and industry as may be inherent in him, to carve his way in the world. Then, as later, young men had their ambition excited, and "Go west, young man," did not originate in Horace Greeley's advice to young men. The west has always been an indefinite locality, but in those days was nearer to the Atlantic coast than now. He first proceeded to Cape Vincent, Jefferson county, New York, working at house and ship carpentering for a period of two years, after which he went to Worcester, Massachusetts, where he entered Bradley & Rice's car works as one of their employés. Determining that a business that was worth following was worth mastering, and that though railroading was in



W. J. Hilcrup

its infancy, it was bound to be one of the great industries of the country, he set himself to the task of obtaining the highest knowledge of that branch of the business, and was soon noted for industry and skill. He began also a close study of theoretic mechanics, as well as a close application of best practices. During nine years' stay in these works, he became thoroughly proficient in every department. Two years after going to Worcester he married Harriet E., daughter of John B. Esselstyne of Cape Vincent, New York, a daughter of one of the prominent families there, and a niece of the Honorable Orville Hungeford, a prominent banker and railroad man of Watertown, New York.

In 1852, believing himself qualified for higher responsibilities and more profitable opportunities, he removed to Elmira, New York, where he established a car wheel foundry and machine-shop. While *en route* to Elmira, he met traveling a prominent citizen of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who set before him the advantages that locality possessed for a railroad car works, but he was then too far committed to the enterprise at Elmira to change at that time, but in 1853, a year later, he was induced to visit Harrisburg at the solicitation of several of its citizens, where he consented to take up the enterprise, and then organized the Harrisburg Car Manufacturing company and commenced the erection of its buildings—a small works with a capacity of nine eight-wheeled cars weekly and a capital stock of \$25,000—taking charge as manager, which position he has continued to hold to the present time,

In 1862 the company was entirely reorganized with a capital stock of \$75,000, made up from its original money paid in, and from accumulated earnings—a new departure that greatly augmented its production, employing two hundred and fifty hands. In 1864 its capital was again increased, and so successful had it been that in four years more its capital was raised to twelvefold the original sum, and all from earnings, beside having paid liberal cash dividends, from time to time, during the period. Thus in fifteen years it had risen from a modest beginning of small capacity to a large and prosperous enterprise, with over a thousand busy men in a teeming hive of industry. By his enterprise other establishments grew out of the undertaking—a saw-mill, planing-mill and a large machine works, the property of the parent enterprise.

William Calder (now deceased), the president of the company, whose interests, temperament and disposition harmonized with his own from the very commencement of his residence in Harrisburg, together with himself, was the leading spirit and controlling laborer in developing these great works and the several industries above named, that have each and all sprung from the original \$25,000 invested in 1853, and have grown and flourished under the original manager.

When he first came to Harrisburg there was very little mechanical skill among the artisans of the city. Being possessed of great mechanical ability, skillful and experienced, with a mastery of all the details, he was able to lead practically, and from the crude elements of mechanical attain-

ment bring out a body of skilled workmen, to effect which during the winter of '53 and '54 he established a free school, for the instruction of his young men, in free-hand and mechanical drawing, thus cultivating them in theoretic mechanics and general intelligence for leaders to a higher skill and efficiency.

Having been a mechanic himself, among the first things receiving his attention were the interests and well-being of the workmen under his charge, endeavoring to improve their condition. Custom made the payments of laboring men lax and irregular. He commenced by adopting a weekly payment of partial earnings for the weekly necessities of market, paying the balance in monthly settlements. Other methods were organized for concentrating their wants for coal and flour, which a few substantial dealers would make concessions to secure, the company paying for the same monthly, thus securing to the workmen lower prices than their individual purchases could be made by other means. He has never allowed one dollar to be brought to the treasury of the company by any speculation for reduction of the money promised as wages to the workmen.

By his unselfish, persistent and sincere care of their interests he greatly endeared them to him, and they manifest to him the utmost respect and kindest regard, believing he has the heart to do them justice. In this connection it may be stated, that on his fifty-first birthday, February 6, 1873, he was the recipient of a massive silver tea service of a cost of \$1,250, which was presented to him as a testimonial of affection and esteem by the

employés under his control. The greatest secrecy in getting up this kind remembrance was had, fearing if it came to his knowledge he would suppress the effort, which secrecy was successfully maintained until being invited to meet them for a little manifestation of their kind feeling, supposed to be on his part something more of kindness than value. He was only undeceived when a magnificent chest of silverware was opened to his astonished gaze. It was kindly meant and gratefully received, under protest of the hope that none had been oppressed or coerced into contributing to the purchase for fear of favor to be lost. In this connection it may also be stated, that in the early history of the company, at the second annual meeting, so great was the satisfaction of the stockholders with the success of the enterprise, that the proposition was then made to present the manager with a silver service, at a cost of \$650. He on his part, having his sympathies frequently enlisted by sickness among his men or their families, instead of receiving such testimonial, requested that he be allowed to contribute among the men as need required, from the company's funds, an equivalent sum, which was kindly granted, and from that time forward it has been his policy never to let his employés suffer in sickness of themselves, or their families, oftentimes burying their dead, helping them by advances in slack work, to be worked out in more prosperous times, to which obligation the men have been uniformly faithful, and in case of injury about the works kindly care has been taken of the injured.

His mechanical faculty, perfected by

diligent study with a lifelong practice, has raised him to the higher ranks of best mechanics in the enterprises of the commonwealth. He has largely aided in building up the industries of Harrisburg, and added to its wealth and prosperity, disseminating many millions of dollars to its laborers, thence ramifying through all the trade of the city, and this largely from products sent to foreign states and territories.

The phenomenal success of these works has excited in many other localities the feeling that it is only necessary to have a car works, and the prosperity of the town is assured, which has led to many rival enterprises, having neither needed capital, experience nor skill, establishing for a time competition. Having, however, no knowledge of cost, selling at prices that those with best facilities and experience could not be safe in, has been one of the perplexities of the manager, until the element of time brings the corrective of failure and disaster to such rival institutions.

He is the largest owner in the various works of the company, and is one of the hardest workers of all. Mention is made of other works than those of the car works as interests of the company.

Railroad car building has in its history periodic seasons of depression. In all the history of commercial depression and financial distress, railroads are among the first to feel the depression, and often with the greatest severity. Receipts fall off, expenditures have to be economized, purchases of new equipment suspended, car works without patronage, making them a source of expense and anxiety to the manager and a loss to the stockholders.

In the panic of 1857 this was notably the condition, but a familiarity with general manufactures and mechanics enabled the manager, with the facilities of a fully equipped car works, by watchfulness to select some other branch for the employment of his facilities, and the manufacture of machinists' tools was taken up and successfully established. On the recovery of railroads from the distress of the panic, and renewal of business, with the growth consequent on increased population, and the neglect to keep up rolling stock, made urgent demand for new cars—a profitable business for car works, so much so that every facility of the works could be fully used in that line, crowding out the machine business. Under these conditions twenty-two acres of land in another portion of the city were purchased, large and commodious shops built and equipped with best class machinery, the machine business removed thereto, and since carried on as the Harrisburg Foundry & Machine works, now doing a large and flourishing business in general boiler and engine work, where great numbers of oil tanks and the company's celebrated Ide engine and a great variety of other foundry, machine and boiler work are manufactured.

The large consumption of lumber and the difficulty of keeping up assortments of supplies led to the purchase in 1865 of a fully equipped saw-mill in the city, which since has been one of the active branches of the company's works, adding to the care of the manager. Five years since, the old mill and site were sold and a large new mill of modern equipment built at a more convenient point. In 1871, for

the enlargement of the works, ground was purchased at contiguous points, and a large planing-mill erected and equipped as a branch of the works.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1872, a passing locomotive set fire to the car works, and in an hour's time, buildings, lumber, cars and everything combustible were in flames, making a total destruction of the great plant. Again the manager's mechanical experience and ability for directing working forces were tested to the utmost. At one o'clock P. M. the fire commenced, and that night the saw-mill was set sawing lumber for the erection of a shop for building cars at the foundry and machine works, and by seven o'clock the next morning carpenters were at work framing the same. With the foundry and machine department and the planing-mill facilities, five box-cars were daily erected there during the rebuilding of the car works.

Every drawing, pattern and guide to build by had been consumed by the flames; the old works had been built small as a beginning, and additions made from time to time as business advanced; the total destruction of the works admitted plans more fitting to the plant, which were arranged and under the immediate direction of the manager, the busiest man in the force. The great collection of large buildings, counting from the day of the fire, was erected, with shafting and machinery put in place, in ninety days' time, and turning out ten eight-wheeled finished cars daily. This when told to experienced builders seems to be incredible, but it is a fact well known to many of the citizens of Harrisburg.

Summarizing, he has within the thirty-

five years since he began this enterprise, starting with \$25,000, with a small plant, with crude and unskilled labor, built up this large system of works, the mechanical head and master.

The business and financial manager leads a busy life, devoted to a purpose well adhered to, of caring for its growth and prosperity, conserving its values in time of depression, pushing its fortunes in time of prosperity, has never sought honors, but tried to deserve such as were due to a correct and useful life; and he has the satisfaction of not only leading a valuable industry from its inception to a substantial prosperity, but has schooled and trained a large number of youths to skill and industry as mechanics, helping them to a life of usefulness and prosperity to themselves. He has steadily refused to seek or receive political honors, believing the responsibilities of an active business life was a full measure of one man's duties. He has had and has now many other interests and business connections besides those herein named, but not belonging to this connection. Among many satisfactions in this connection is the body of faithful, devoted men, subordinate to his position as manager—men who command his confidence and affectionate respect.

He has been a member of the Episcopal church many years, believes sincerely in his duty under God to his fellow-man, as taught by the gospel of Christ, has invested in his business under that command, kindness and paternal care over those under his direction, and while believing in it as a duty, also believes in it as a wise policy. It brings willing hands



Joseph Watson

and hearts to his aid—a prime element of successful working out a problem of associated life.

He has three surviving children, one son, W. T. Hildrup, jr., associated with him in the management as secretary of the company and superintendent of the car wheel making department. He is

himself now one of the oldest car wheel makers in the country, having been in it for forty years. His first wife having died, he was again married in October, 1876, to Miss Emma J. Piper of Philadelphia, a lady of high culture, a devoted and affectionate wife.

JOSEPH WATSON.

The name of Joseph Watson is so connected with the mechanical growth of the Pennsylvania railroad, that his record will ever be a part of the history of that great thoroughfare. Mr. Watson was a practical man, who believed that work could never be done too well, and whose honesty and capacity inspired the trust and regard of such men as J. Edgar Thompson and Thomas Scott. He was born in Yorkshire, England, learned the stone-cutter's trade when quite young, and in order to better his condition, removed to America in the spring of 1850. He went immediately to the work in which he had been reared, working at stone-cutting at various places in Pennsylvania and New York. He was engaged upon the Pennsylvania railroad almost from the beginning of its construction up to the year 1874 or 1875. He was employed upon the

great tunnel a short distance west of Altoona, a part of the time as foreman; and upon its completion turned his attention to a class of work in which his energy and natural abilities could have fuller scope. He was employed for a number of years upon the building of bridges all along the line between Altoona and Harrisburg, as a contractor, and performed his work to the satisfaction of the company and to his own financial gain. After leaving this railroad work, Mr. Watson engaged extensively in a variety of enterprises, and became one of the best known of American railroad contractors. He was married in 1852 to Miss Eliza E. Hauver, but no children were born to the twain. Mr. Watson died on March 3, 1885, his wife still remaining a resident of Huntington, Pennsylvania.

BALTIMORE: SOME OF ITS PICTURESQUE AND PRACTICAL PHASES.

I.

THE old, old town of Baltimore—old at least for this young western world, and seemingly much more ancient than it really is because of its association with the early settled state of Maryland, the importance of the events in its own history, its marked identification with affairs of National breadth and a certain glamour of romance that rests upon its traditions—was founded just one hundred and fifty-nine years ago. It was upon January 12, 1730, that sixty acres of land at the head of the northwest bend of that estuary of the Chesapeake bay known as the Patapsco river, the property of Charles and Daniel Carroll, comprising what is now an almost infinitesimal fraction of the great city, was platted in a town of sixty equal lots and put upon the market. This tract, which is now the very heart of Baltimore's densest and intensest business activities, the intersections of Charles and Calvert with Baltimore street marking its centre, had probably at the time it was laid out but a solitary household—that of John Flemming—although just across a small stream (Jones falls) forming its eastern boundary, there were "three dwelling-houses, a mill, some tobacco houses and an orchard." At present there are upon this ground the establishments of the

two leading newspapers, *The American* and *The Sun*, three-fourths of the banks and insurance companies' buildings, the edifices of the safe deposit and trust companies, the chamber of commerce building, and innumerable wholesale and retail houses in every department of trade.

The town thrived apace, and two years later another dotlet of civilization was planned and platted contiguous to it upon the eastern side—Jones town or Old town, which was finally merged in Baltimore town. Several additions were made, and still after the lapse of more than twenty years from the time it was founded, Baltimore was merely a straggling country village, and what are now the busy thoroughfares, known as South, St. Paul's, Light and Charles streets, were, according to an old picture, scarcely more than irregular paths running up the rolling hills from the water front to pastoral appearing—literally pasture lands—and dark and heavy forest beyond. There were about twenty-five dwellings at this time, and allowing ten persons to a family, which is not unreasonable, as it was a slave-holding community, the population must have been about two hundred and fifty. In 1755 an accession of population was received in the form of a ship-load of

French Acadian exiles, who found here, in more ways than one, a kinder home than bleak Nova Scotia. In 1768 the town was made the county-seat and a new impulse was thus given to its growth, so that eight years later it contained 5,000 people. In 1776 its population had increased to 6,755; the close of the Revolution found it possessed of 8,000 inhabitants, and the first census of the United States, made in 1790, accredited it with 13,503. In 1800 it had a population of 26,114; in 1810, 35,853; 1820, 62,738; 1830, 80,625; 1840, 102,313; 1850, 169,054; 1860, 212,418; 1870, 267,599, and in 1880, 332,190, of whom 276,176 were native born, 56,014 foreigners, 278,487 white, and 53,703 colored. Thus it will be seen that the growth of the city has been quite even, and the result of natural and uniform causes rather than phenomenal and spasmodic ones. The average rate of increase per annum has been about four and one-half per cent. During the decade from 1870 to 1880, the apparent increase was only twenty-four per cent., but during that period was commenced, on a large scale, the building up of such near by suburbs as are usually included within the actual boundaries of the cities from which they are the overflow, and the city did much to populate the county, while no proportionate extension of boundaries was made. The city is regarded as having now, at the beginning of 1889, a population of considerably more than four hundred thousand, and it is estimated that the usual rate of growth, together with certain contemplated annexations, will give it a population of

half a million or upwards. And there has been commensurate growth in education and general culture, in public spirit, in the arts and manufactures, in trade, in financial operations, shipping and general transportation interests; to be brief, in all that goes to make up an advanced and active metropolis.

While it is not the purpose of the writer to attempt making in this article a general outline of the history of this Gate City of the south and of what may be called the central west—the southern Ohio and Kentucky region—it is almost impossible to write about Baltimore without making a few allusions to some initial facts which have been of more than local importance.

As some of them are forced upon the mind by various associations of ideas, a few jottings in regard to them may not be amiss before passing to a consideration of the most salient of those peculiar and striking aspects of the city, the picturesque and practical phases of its character and life, and some of its admirable and unique institutions.

Who does not associate Baltimore prominently with the pioneer efforts in the building of railroads in America? What well-informed visitor to the city, as he walks its streets, does not recall the fact that it was here that the great Morse labored, here that he attained his splendid triumph in establishing the electric telegraph—the same which now connects with its nerve-like wires all the points of the civilized world, which enmeshes continents with its almost interminable slender strands

of singing metal, and with incredible swiftness carries intelligence by a universal language of the world under thousands of leagues of the sea? There are, perhaps, not so many who, as in the evening they may glance down one of Baltimore's brilliantly illuminated avenues or business streets, will remember that this was the first city of the western continent which was practically lighted with gas; yet such is the fact.

The earliest of these important initial undertakings was that of introducing gas. It is true that gas had been made use of as an illuminant in Richmond, Virginia, by one Benjamin Henfrey, as early as 1802, but what was accomplished there amounted to little more than a successful laboratory experiment and did not immediately lead to any practical utilization of this medium of light. In 1816 the artist Rembrandt Peale, proprietor of the Baltimore museum, gave exhibitions in his gallery of paintings of the method of lighting houses by the use of "carbureted hydrogen gas" as devised by Dr. Benjamin Kugler of Philadelphia, charging a small fee for admission to see the new light. In this way was suggested to Mr. Peale and his friends the use of gas for illuminating cities, and especially as a substitute for oil in the street lamps. Although the nature and properties of gas had been known to scientific men for considerably more than a century, it had not been utilized, except on a very small scale in London and experimentally in Richmond, but a "gas company," the first in Baltimore and in the United States, was now formed by Mr.

Peale, William Lorman, James Mosher, Robert Carey Long, William Gwynn and others, and a proposition was made to light the city, which was accepted by the council, at a special session, in June, 1816. "The Gas Light Company of Baltimore" was chartered by the legislature February 5, 1817, and operations were commenced. Gas works were built at North and Saratoga streets, and the company got fairly under way in 1820. The first building lighted was the old Belvidere, or "Mud" theatre; the first private house, that of the late Jacob I. Cohen, on North Charles street, and the second that of Hugh Birckhead, on the same thoroughfare. The first street lamp lighted by gas was on the corner of Market and Lemon streets. This was accomplished February 7, 1817, only two days after the company was incorporated. One of the newspapers of the time states that "the effect produced was highly gratifying to those who had an opportunity of witnessing it, among whom were several members of the legislature." A year later the lights of twenty-eight gas posts pierced the gloom of Baltimore's streets; and from that time on the consumption rapidly increased until the demand became so great as to bring about the construction of works, said by experts to be the most perfect in the United States, and by a natural tendency of the times to effect a consolidation of the several companies in a corporation with many millions of dollars capital.

Another great historical beginning in this city was that of the Balti-

more & Ohio railroad, and although a comprehensive history of that vast work will in due season appear in the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* series of railroad papers, a few striking local facts are admissible in this connection. This railway, which was conceived in Baltimore, organized by Baltimore men and pushed to completion in the face of opposing forces which would have baffled any but the strongest natures, has ever been the especial protégé of the city and of Maryland. It has made trade of the southern halves of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois tributary to Baltimore, and it was to effect this very purpose that it was constructed by far-seeing men. That this was the idea which dominated the projectors of the road and sustained them in their herculean, but at times almost hopeless task, is well known. It appears at the very outset of the enterprise in the language of the invitation issued by George Brown, a prominent banker, and Philip E. Thomas, to a number of citizens to assemble at the house of the former on February 12, 1827, "to take into consideration the best means of restoring to the city of Baltimore that portion of the western trade which has recently been diverted from it by the introduction of steam and other causes." The road was duly incorporated by act of the legislature passed a few days after the meeting held at Banker Brown's house, and was the first railroad chartered in the United States. The company was organized on the twelfth of the following April by the election of Philip E. Thomas as president, and

George Brown, treasurer, with twelve directors, viz.: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, William Patterson, Robert Oliver, Alexander Brown (father of George Brown and founder of the banking house of Alexander Brown & Sons), Isaac McKim, William Lorman, George Hoffman, Philip E. Thomas, Thomas Ellicott, Talbot Jones, William Stewart, Solomon Etting, Patrick McCauley and John B. Morris (the last surviving member).

On the fourth of July, 1828, a momentous event occurred in Baltimore, in the formal inauguration of the work upon this great artery of trade and transportation. Among the ceremonies was the laying of the *first* or "corner-stone" of the immense enterprise, which was performed in the presence of an immense throng, including many of the most distinguished men of the time, by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, who declared it the most important act of his life.

The first locomotive made for railway use in the United States was constructed for this company and under the supervision of no less a personage than Peter Cooper, then a resident of Baltimore. Locomotives had been in use for a few years in England (upon comparatively straight roads) and trials of imported engines had been made at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, but it had been feared that it would prove impossible to use such motive power upon roads possessing the unavoidable curves of those projected in this country.

Mr. Cooper thought that he could master the solution of the problem, and he did. He built a locomotive at Mt. Claire, doing much of the work upon it with his own hands, and upon the twenty-eighth of August, 1830, in the presence of Alexander Brown, George Brown, President Philip E. Thomas and others, acting himself as engineer, he made a trial trip from Mt. Claire to Ellicott City, which demonstrated the practicability of his work. The return trip (thirteen miles) was made in fifty-seven minutes. The highly favorable result had a marked effect upon the prospects of the railroad and of Baltimore. It was not until 1853 that the Baltimore & Ohio line was pushed to the shore of the "beautiful river," but its powerful stimulating effect upon the trade of the city was felt long before that.

The Susquehanna railroad (now the Northern Central) was begun on the ninth of August, 1829, the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city, and in 1837 the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad was opened to travel, direct communication with the north being thus afforded.

Just as Baltimore was the first city in the United States to have gas works, in 1817, and ten years later was the first to inaugurate a railroad, it was again distinguished as one of the termini of the first electric telegraph line, not only in this country but in the world, in 1844. As early as 1837 Professor Samuel F. B. Morse had petitioned congress for aid in demonstrating the practical usefulness of his invention, but the

National Solons were incredulous in regard to the wonderful discovery which verified the prophecy of Shakespeare's Puck, and the inventor was left in that cold and cheerless gloom of obscurity that seems to be one of the states set apart, at least for a time, as an especial providence of all geniuses. But a Baltimore man of brain came to his rescue. This was the literary statesman, John P. Kennedy, who as chairman of the house committee to which the bill had been referred on the renewal of Professor Morse's application during the session of 1842-43 warmly championed the measure of extending National assistance to the inventor. In consequence of his influence, a bill appropriating thirty thousand dollars "to test the practicability of establishing a system of electro-magnetic telegraph in the United States," was passed upon the third of March, 1843, the last day of the session. Professor Morse, thus encouraged, immediately began his work, and after some experimenting and a temporary failure, finally attained success in 1844, and on May 24, which was a Friday, let it be recorded as one item of credit for that much maligned day, the line being completed between Washington and Baltimore, the first formal message was sent from Miss Annie Ellsworth, daughter of the commissioner of patents in the former city, to Professor Morse in the latter, the four words "What hath God wrought!" being flashed over the wire. The first press news was sent over the line to the *Baltimore Patriot*, on May 24, the proceedings of the Democratic National convention and

of the Tyler National convention, which assembled in Baltimore, were telegraphed to Washington upon May 27, 1844, and on May 11, 1846, the first President's message ever transmitted over the wires was sent exclusively to *The Baltimore Sun*.

Historical associations cluster everywhere about Baltimore, and are suggested at almost every street turning. One may, for instance, find himself in proximity to the old Front Street theatre, and instantly remember, if he is familiar with things theatric, that it is identified with many celebrated Thespian events. It dates from 1829, and from that time down to the present has shared with the Holliday Street theatre the honor of being the scene of many events prominent either in histrionic or historic annals. Macready appeared here in 1848, Jenny Lind made her memorable appearance in 1850, and its boards were occupied for years by a succession of the greatest actors and actresses. The most memorable of the various assemblages, however, that ever assembled within the walls of this old house of Thespis, was not an audience of a theatrical entertainment, but a body having in consideration one of the gravest political questions of the century—the National Democratic Convention of 1860, at the stormy session of which Caleb Cushing presided. It will be remembered that this convention had adjourned from Charlestown, and that following the heated debate which ensued in regard to candidates and principles, and the subsequent filling of the vacant seats of the Gulf states, in

accordance with the majority report, with Douglass men, a number of other states, led by Virginia, California and Oregon, withdrew. It was then that Mr. Smith of California arose and said impressively :

“This convention has properly been held in a theatre, and upon this stage a play has been enacted that will prove to be a tragedy of which the Democratic party will be the victim.” Further force was given to this prophetic utterance by an ominous accident by which about a hundred delegates were precipitated through the stage, creating, temporarily, great consternation, but fortunately injuring none of them.

Turning away from the Baltimore of the past to the city of the present, it is found to present aspects and conditions which are the creation of influences existing long ago, and beginning, in fact, with the founding of Maryland. That broad spirit of religious toleration and liberty which dominated Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, in carrying out the wise plans of his father in establishing this colony Catholic at once, both in the ecclesiastical and broadly general sense, has apparently never ceased to bear fruit. The essence of true liberality pervades the city and the state, and is noticeable in many diversified effects. The Catholic community was the hospitable home of Protestantism, in fact of every faith and of every nationality, and Maryland was, in fact, the citadel of the Asylum of Liberty, as the United States proudly entitled itself. The Quakers found here

as warm a welcome as in the land of William Penn (who, curiously enough, as a peaceful Friend, secured his great province, practically as a gift from the Crown of England, in direct recognition of the fighting services of his father, who was an officer of Britain's navy); and the men of Massachusetts, whose Puritan ancestors had sliced the ears from Quaker heads in token of their disapproval of religious heterodoxy, found that here they could mingle fraternally both with Quakers and Catholics, and that while each might honestly adhere to his religious belief, it was not necessary to kill or mutilate those who differed from them in things spiritual. And this early established religious liberty coming down through succeeding generations has had a broadening tendency in matters of opinion upon other than religious subjects. "Why," said a distinguished citizen of Baltimore, a few days ago, "do you know that this was about the only place in the United States, a few years ago, where a radical abolitionist and a slave-owner could sit in amicable conversation upon the same door-step? Well, it was so. It couldn't be done a hundred miles north of here, and it couldn't be done a hundred southward. But it was a fact here, and one typical of the toleration that is a characteristic of our people."

Liberality, too, in its other sense, as synonymous with beneficence, is a striking trait of this community, both in its collective sense and of the citizens individually. There seems a very general desire on the part of those who are able,

to advance in some way the well-being of their less fortunate fellows, and to establish high standards of life. It is this wide-spread sentiment of generosity, combined with culture, taste and appreciation of something beyond mercenary achievement and personal ambition, a respect for ability and reverence for genius, a genuine public spirit to which one must attribute the character and individuality that Baltimore displays in architecture, in the beautifying of the city with parks and public places, with worthy art adornments and those memorials of men and events which have won for it the appellation of the "Monumental City," and it is the same feeling which has led to the endowment of great institutions of learning and popular enlightenment, and the opening to the general public of choice art collections.

Of architecture, Baltimore possesses some superb specimens, notably in the Catholic cathedral, the foundations of which were laid almost as far back as the beginning of the century, and the superstructure finished some years later, in the Roman style, with an immense dome, and colossal pillars at the portico, forming a model of simplicity, strength and grandeur, which stands in reposing contrast to many more modern and meretriciously showy structures; the Presbyterian church at Madison street and Park avenue, built of brown stone, most exquisitely and chastely finished, its ornamentation simply but highly wrought, symmetrically satisfying, and possessing one of the most perfect spires in the country; St. Paul's church, in

the Romanesque or Lombardic style; the Independent Methodist church, the Eutaw Place Baptist church, both fine specimens of the modified Gothic, and the Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal church, an architectural triumph of Gothic lines, heightened in effect by the material—the beautiful green serpentine stone—and with designs accentuated by the judicious employment of brown and buff freestone. Beside these there are fine specimens of architecture in the city hall, the Johns Hopkins hospital, in many commercial buildings, in recently erected city residences and suburban villas, and even—since the government has learned that beauty is not incompatible with utility—in the new post-office building.

Domestic architecture finds perhaps its best—that is, its most characteristic illustration, not its most ambitious examples—in the vicinity of Mt. Vernon Place, or, at least, it is here that the most striking assemblage of varied yet harmonious elements forms a pleasing picture and a perfect entity. It is here that the homes of the Garrett families are located, one stately mansion of a period considerably removed from the present, and another embodying all that is rich and regal in modern style. The general effect is that produced by simple elements of beauty, possessing the dignity that is only shown by age, that can only be conveyed to the mind by something which says as plainly as in words, “I was not built yesterday,” and conveying unmistakable suggestions of greater elegancies within than are displayed without. There is much of

character here, which appears not to have been attained by an organization of endeavor, but by some happy influence which seems to smile benignly and enhancingly once in a while upon the efforts of man to make his surroundings beautiful. It is here, too, that the staid but stately Peabody institute building stands, strangely in contrast with the richly colored and ornate church of which mention has been made; and the tastefully laid out little parks, beautifully ornamented with fountains, water-falls, flower gardens and with the grand bronze groups by Baryé, the great French sculptor, DuBois’ “Military Courage,” and a seated statue by Rhinehart, of Chief-Justice Taney of Maryland, all gifts to the city by the art connoisseur, William T. Walter, have at their intersecting centre what is undoubtedly the grandest monument in America. This is a huge Ionic column of marble, rising from a plain substructure to a height of nearly two hundred feet, majestic in proportions and sublime in simplicity, and surmounted with a statue by Causici, of the “father of his country.” It was erected early in the century. The great monument to Washington at the National capital, as an ambitious attempt to rival the tower of Babel in sheer height, will be an object for curious eyes to gaze upon, but in true meaning, as a fitting memorial, and in beauty, it cannot be considered seriously in connection with Baltimore’s Washington monument.

Other notable monuments adorn the city, among them the celebrated “Battle Monument,” which

commemorates the bravery of the men who, during the War of 1812-14, fought and fell at the battle of North Point and at the bombardment of Fort McHenry, in actions which preserved Baltimore from possession by the enemy. The last of the survivors of those memorable struggles—the last of 1,295 gallant men—who had maintained an organization widely known and honored as the “Old Defenders,” passed to rest from the battle of life only a few days since. This was James Chamberlain Morford, born in 1795.

There are monuments also commemorating James Wildey, the founder of Odd Fellowship in Baltimore; one to

the memory of Daniel Wells and Henry G. Daniels, to whom was attributed the fall of General Ross at the battle of North Point, on the twelfth of September, 1814; one to John McDonough in honor of his liberality in the promotion of a great public enterprise—the education of orphans; to William B. Ferguson, founder and president of the Howard society, who laid down his life in devotion to the yellow fever victims in Norfolk, in 1855; to William R. Creery, a talented and lamented principal of the public schools; to Captain John Gleason, a hero of the late war, and one erected by public school pupils to Edgar Allan Poe.

A. F. MATTHEWS.

[To be continued.]

A. S. ABELL.

Arunah Shepherdson Abell, the founder of *The Baltimore Sun*, was a native of East Providence, Rhode Island, where he was born on August 10, 1806. He came of a sturdy English ancestry, who were among the first settlers of the town of Seekonk, then known as Rehoboth. They were true Americans, however, from the first, Robert Abell, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, serving with distinction in the War of the Revolution, and his son, Caleb Abell, as an officer in the War of 1812. The mother of Arunah S. Abell was Elona Shepherdson, daughter of Colonel Arunah Shepherdson, and was remarkable for her superior character and intelligence. Mr. Abell was educated in his native town, and at the age of fourteen began his busi-

ness career as a clerk with a merchant of East Providence, with whom he remained about two years. But his tastes lay in a different direction, and in 1822 he began an apprenticeship in the office of the *Providence Patriot*, a Democratic journal of the Jeffersonian school. When his apprenticeship was ended and he had attained his majority, he had become so thoroughly master of his calling that he had no difficulty in obtaining employment in one of the best printing offices in Boston, of which he soon became foreman. But, believing that New York presented a wider field and greater opportunities, he removed to that city, where he readily secured a position, and where he made the acquaintance of a number of printers and newspaper writers, who after-



A. S. Abell



wards became prominent in journalism, among them William M. Swain and A. H. Simmons, with whom he formed a business connection, which finally resulted in the establishment in Philadelphia of a penny paper, the *Public Ledger*, the first issue of which appeared on Friday, March 25, 1836. The early history of the *Ledger* furnishes an illustration of the natural business capacity of Mr. Abell, as well as of his calm courage and clear insight into the popular mind. The new venture was coldly received at first, but with a patient tenacity of purpose that was not capable of being beaten by adverse circumstances, the publication was continued until its success was put beyond the reach of doubt. In April, 1837, Mr. Abell visited Baltimore, where he saw an opening for an enterprise similar to the *Ledger*, and the result of this visit was *The Baltimore Sun*, the first number of which appeared on the seventeenth of May, 1837. His partners in the *Ledger* were also interested financially in *The Sun*, but their consent to this new undertaking was obtained on the condition that he would take personal control of it, and the triumph that rewarded his efforts was essentially and entirely his own. It began its career in the face of the active competition of five newspapers and at a period of great financial depression, but it was successful from the very beginning, in less than three months had a circulation greater than the *Ledger* had obtained in nine, and within a year had a circulation twice as great as that of the oldest paper in Baltimore. Mr. Abell retained his interest in the *Ledger* until 1864, and

four years later became the sole proprietor of *The Sun*.

The Sun's history from the outset has been that of uninterrupted progress in popular favor. In this respect it has had an almost unique experience. Unlike the vast majority of newspapers, it has been shaken by no vicissitudes of fortune, no fickle changes in public support. Its business and circulation have developed healthily year by year, keeping steady pace with the growth of population and trade, until it has become the medium for the rich and poor of the entire section in which it is published, and the journalistic guide and friend of millions of people. Mr. Abell lived to see the penny paper which he had founded become one of the most solid, as well as the broadest and best, in the country, and on the occasion of its semi-centennial anniversary on May 17, 1887, received numberless assurances from every section of the country of cordial appreciation of his services as a journalist and of affectionate esteem for his personal worth. President Cleveland telegraphed from the White House: "Accept my congratulations upon the fiftieth anniversary of your management of *The Baltimore Sun*, with the hope that your influence for good may long continue to guide its course." Similar congratulations were received from the mayor of Baltimore and from citizens and organizations without regard to party, and formal resolutions were adopted by the city council, in which *The Sun* and its founder were recognized as agencies which had largely "contributed to the advancement, growth and benefit of the city, and to the

comfort, instruction and pleasure of its inhabitants." A public verdict so spontaneous and at the same time so well merited is as rare as that of the life-work which it commended.

Mr. Abell's death occurred less than a year after the celebration of *The Sun's* semi-centennial, on April 19, 1888, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the general and sincere expressions of regret which it called forth afforded another proof, if further proof had been needed, of the depth and earnestness of public and private esteem. In the language of the resolutions passed by the mayor and city council, the community had lost a representative "who modestly portrayed, during a long and useful life, the best characteristics of the highest type of American citizenship;" and the council thought it but simple justice to say that "for integrity, sagacity and truthfulness, for depth and breadth of conception of public duty and obligation, for genuine patriotism, benevolence and popularity, for high moral courage, sustained by unerring judgment in the defense of private and public right, and for the exercise of the finer feelings and amenities of life, he stood among the most preëminent of the best men of this community."

Mr. Abell's mental and moral qualities were fittingly portrayed in the character of his paper. Remarkably quiet and calm in demeanor, not given to many words in business affairs, he was a keen observer and a wonderful judge of men and things. Scrupulously exact in all his dealings and with the nicest sense of honor in all business and personal transactions, he was free from that ungracious

sternness which so often accompanies the colder virtues and chills and repels personal regard. Modest, democratic, unassuming even with the humblest, but with a dignity of character which needed no other ornament or distinction, he was never boastful even in his moments of greatest success, nor ostentatious even when ostentation might well have been pardoned. With an enterprising spirit that was tempered by a conservative discretion and a judgment so clear and sound as to be almost infallible, he possessed an equable and manly temperament not easily disturbed or shaken.

The true and permanent value of a man's life is best determined by the principles which have guided and inspired his work. If they were wise, honest and elevated, the result will be enduring and noble. Mr. Abell's career was a remarkable exemplification of this principle, and is worthy of study not only by men of his own but of all other professions. Judged both by his principles and his wonderful success, his life stands out as one of the worthiest models to be found in the vast field of successful American endeavor, and must be conceded to represent the practical expression of the highest and most complete ideal of journalism. He set out with a definite purpose and ambition, but it was a purpose and an ambition which were to be guided by principles just as fixed and definite. He would have regarded success won by the abandonment of these principles as worse than the most ignominious failure. When he founded *The Sun* the average newspaper was anything but what the name implied. When it was not a collection of

dull essays, it was a medium of violent personal controversy. News was a comparatively rare feature, and seemed, as a rule, the last consideration of the publishers. To-day, most American newspapers have gone to the other extreme, and in their eagerness to outstrip their rivals and to secure readers, treat current affairs, both public and private, in a sensational and extravagant style that may amuse the thoughtless and ignorant, but must make the judicious grieve. Mr. Abell saw that true journalism lay midway between these extremes. He believed that a newspaper was meant to give the news, but he believed just as thoroughly that there were many topics of private and individual concern which a newspaper had no right to touch. He would expend thousands of dollars in legitimate enterprise, but spurned with an honest man's hearty scorn all inducements to make his paper the purveyor of scandal or even the echo of thoughtless gossip.

He felt that the press should be a great public enlightener and instructor, that it had a mission which was second to none, and that its liberty should not be dependent upon the arbitrary ruling of a capricious judge, or the interested restrictions of legislative assemblies, and whenever there seemed danger from either source, there was never a more determined or formidable champion of the rights of the press than he. But he guarded with equal vigilance the even greater rights of private reputation, and exercised an unceasing supervision over the columns of his paper to prevent even the accidental invasion of the sacred precincts of the humblest home. Finally, it was his con-

viction that a newspaper should wear no man's collar, and should be the mouth-piece of no man or party, but should speak the words of honesty, soberness and truth on every public question that presented itself. This general policy was outlined in the first issue of *The Sun* when he announced that its cardinal principles would be independence, honesty and enterprise, controlled by a spirit of fairness and conservatism, "the common good without regard to that of sects, factions and parties." The highest praise that can be bestowed upon his life—and an epitaph that any man might covet—is that he faithfully and conscientiously adhered to these principles for the half century and more of his management of *The Sun*.

In legitimate newspaper enterprise he was always abreast of the times, and very often in advance of them. Many important mechanical inventions found in him an intelligent and earnest promoter. His firm was the first to purchase the rotary printing-machines, the invention of Richard M. Hoe of New York, which have worked a revolution in the art of printing, but which were at first rejected by the New York publishers as impracticable. *The Sun* iron building, erected at his suggestion, was the first practical exemplification in this country of the feasibility of constructing large buildings of iron, and was an important addition to the architectural attractions of the city. He subsequently erected many other buildings in Baltimore of durable construction and handsome proportions, as well as a magnificent structure in Washington, where *The Sun* Bureau is located at the capital. He was among the

very first to recognize the merit and value of that marvel of modern times, the telegraph, and gave its inventor early and substantial support and encouragement, and his sagacity and judgment were vindicated by the result, the first presidential message ever transmitted over the wires being sent exclusively to *The Sun* on May 16, 1846, and published in its next day's issue with an accuracy that excited general astonishment.

His firm was one of the incorporators of the first telegraph company, and the submarine cable also received his earnest support; and it was largely due to his efforts, in the successful establishment of pony expresses, by which *The Sun* distanced all competitors in obtaining news from European steamers and from the seat of war during the conflict with Mexico, that the Associated Press service, which now supplies the leading newspapers throughout the country with news, was created. He was the first to introduce in Baltimore the "carrier" system of delivering newspapers, which has proved of such great convenience to city readers; and the art of stereotyping, the utility of electric light and many other mechanical improvements were recognized by Mr. Abell as important achievements and promptly applied in the conduct of his business.

But Mr. Abell's claim to grateful recollection is not based solely upon the fact that he built up a prosperous and influential newspaper, for he might have done this and still have been unentitled to recognition or remembrance. But the honor which press and public united in showing to him living, and to his memory

after he had passed away, was due to the fact that as a journalist he never forgot his obligations as a man and an individual. There is no greater temptation in journalism, as is shown in the reckless conduct of many newspapers, than to forget the precepts of private charity, of justice, fairness and moderation, and to use a great intellectual force to punish enemies, to gratify personal malice or further private ambition. To this temptation he never succumbed.

He felt that it was well for a newspaper to have a giant's strength, but he never used this power like a giant except in defending great public interests. He had a high and pure ideal in his vocation, and he was true to it from first to last, in spite of the tendencies of the times and the numerous examples of newspaper sensationalism that panders to the lowest tastes of human nature. It was this fidelity to his high standard and to his obligations to the public which made and has kept *The Sun* a great intellectual force, and which crowned with rare and lasting honor the life and name of its founder.

The death of such a man would be an irreparable loss to the cause of enlightened and elevated journalism, had he not left representatives specially trained and fitted by natural endowments to continue the policy which he inaugurated. Fortunately his sons and successors, Messrs. Edwin F., George W. and Walter R. Abell, the present proprietors, have inherited the spirit, ability and wisdom of their father, and will keep *The Sun* loyal to that honorable code of true principles and practices, and to that healthy and vigorous enterprise, which have given it a larger circulation than any paper in the south, and made it the favorite business medium of all classes and conditions of people.

O. P. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE winter's course of free historical lectures inaugurated with such success last year in Madison, Wisconsin, is to be continued during the coming season. The names of the speakers who have been engaged, with their subjects, are as follows: President Thomas C. Chamberlin of the State university, on the topography of the Great West—from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean—with reference to the manner of its settlement; Professor James D. Butler of the exploring expeditions by northern routes, including Lewis and Clarke's expedition and the Mormon hegira; Secretary Reuben G. Thwaites of the State Historical society will speak of the movements along southern routes, including Fremont's expedition and the Spanish discoveries; Professor Albert O. Wright, secretary of the state board of charities, will give an account of the formation of states and territories out of the Great West, and touch on the "Oregon question" and the international boundaries generally; Professor John B. Parkinson, vice-president of the State university, will relate the thrilling story of California. Professor Parkinson was himself a Californian "49-er" and an eye-witness of many interesting events. Professor Edward A. Birge of the State university will give a talk on the fauna and flora of the Great West, with particular reference to their influence on its settlement.

These lectures will be free to all, but are especially intended for the entertainment and instruction of young people. This enterprise is of a purely popular character, wholly unconnected with any church organization. Especial effort will be made to interest the teachers of the public schools and the oldest grade of their students, as well as the students of the State university. The success that has attended this series in the season past ought to lead to other like efforts in other sections of the country.

THE annual meeting of the Chicago Historical society was held on the evening of November 20, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The report of John Moses, esq., showed that the number of accessions to the library since the last meeting had been thirty-eight volumes; the accession of bound volumes during the year, 1,302; of pamphlets, 1,813, besides newspapers and periodicals.

The fourteen antique portrait-busts of famous men of olden times, purchased by Edwin H. Sheldon in Italy, last March, and donated by him to the society, were received on the seventeenth inst., and have been stored for safe-keeping in the Sibley fire-proof warehouse. A new pedestal for the bust of Philo Carpenter has been received from his daughter, Mrs. A. A. Cheney. During the past year a complete special catalogue of the society's collection of Americana has been prepared, and kept up to date; also one of history and biography, not yet complete. An index, comprising several thousand entries, has also been made to one hundred bound volumes of pamphlets. The documents, reports and collections, relating to the different states, have been placed in shelves and tiers, each state by itself—an arrangement which is found to be convenient for reference and use. This society is now in correspondence with sixty-six kindred organizations, from many of which valuable exchanges are received.

THE executive committee reported that they had received subscriptions to a considerable amount toward the erection of a new society building on the lot owned by it at the northwest corner of Dearborn avenue and Ontario street. These, together with the amount believed to be available for this purpose from the Gilpin fund, aggregate \$55,000, which sum it is hoped soon to increase to an amount sufficient to construct a suitable building. They have

made a contract for the publication of Volume IV. *of the society's collections, the cost of which will be for the most part defrayed by the accumulated income of the Jonathan-Burr fund. The volume will contain memoirs and portraits of Gurdon S. Hubbard, Isaac N. Arnold, Elihu B. Washburne, Mark Skinner, Samuel Stone, Pierre Menard, and a large amount of other interesting historical matter relating to "Early Chicago and Illinois." On motion, General Aug. L. Chetlain and Charles H. Mulliken, esq., were appointed a committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year, who reported the following: For president, Edward G. Mason; vice-presidents, Alexander C. McClurg, George W. Smith; secretary and librarian, John Moses; treasurer, Henry H. Nash; two members of the executive committee for four years, Edwin H. Sheldon, Edward E. Ayer, who were unanimously elected.

MR. ERNEST F. ACHESON, editor of the Washington (Pennsylvania) *Observer*, a newspaper that has done much for the collection and preservation of historical facts in relation to Pennsylvania, has in his possession a valuable relic, which he had kindly forwarded to this office for inspection. It is a number of the original *Pittsburgh Magazine Almanack for the year 1813*. Under the heading "A Cursory Notice of Some of the Principal and Late Domestic Manufacturing and Other Establishments in the Western Country," a variety of items of value is presented.

THE enterprises enumerated as under way or in contemplation are various. Among them are nail factories, glass factories, woolen mills, paper mills, etc. In noting that the making of whiskey progresses at Harmony, the author thoughtfully adds: "It is almost a pity so sober and good a people should have commenced the manufacture of this bewitching and inebriating liquid, used so much to the injury of others." At a later point in the *Almanack* he adds: "It is a matter of some curiosity, the quantity consumed in the United States of this intoxicating and destructive liquor. In the report of Albert

Gallatin, of April, 1810, it is stated that 15,000,000 gallons was the product of whiskey and gin for that year, besides spirits of foreign importation to the amount of 9,750,000 gallons yearly, making in all an annual consumption of ardent spirits to the enormous amount of about *twenty-five million gallons*, better than a yearly draught of three gallons to every man, woman and child in the United States. But since it is probable that not more than one-fifth of the whole community are whiskey drinkers, this calculation gives them about twenty gallons yearly, or half a pint a day, and I am led to believe this a moderate allowance, since it is well known that hundreds are in the constant habit of drinking a pint a day, and some will not be satisfied with less than a quart."

IN urging the raising of sheep in Tennessee, the *Almanack* maker uses this argument: "When this matter is maturely reflected on, it is a subject of surprise how we become so blindly fond of following each other's shoe-track, all tugging at the same laborious, unprofitable crop, and overstocking the market, thereby getting but a miserably poor price for our labour; when at the same time, if it was divided among other objects of absolute demand and consumption, the natural consequence would be every man would get well paid and want nothing—now, as things go, labour is but about half paid for (I mean in agriculture), and many things wanted, for which we are obliged to pay an enormous price. Cannot this channel of ill-contrivance be changed—cannot my neighbor Forethought raise half a dozen sheep instead of a yard full of half-starved horses and a dozen of hungry, idle dogs—methinks the fleece of these half-dozen sheep would yield him a comfortable coat, while his dogs and horses are eating him out of house and home."

"INDIANA, we observe, by her petition to congress, is desirous of becoming a sovereign state. The friends of humanity and the rights of man implore her most seriously to avoid the introduction of slavery into her boundaries—to avoid it as she would a gangrene, a sore which seldom stops short of mortification,"

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'MY STORY OF THE WAR: A WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR YEARS' PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AS NURSE IN THE UNION ARMY, AND IN RELIEF WORK AT HOME, IN HOSPITALS, CAMPS AND AT THE FRONT DURING THE WAR OF THE REBELLION; WITH ANECDOTES, PATHETIC INCIDENTS AND THRILLING REMINISCENCES, PORTRAYING THE LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF HOSPITAL LIFE AND THE SANITARY SERVICE OF THE WAR.' By Mary A. Livermore. Published by A. D. Worthington & Co., Hartford, Connecticut.

Mrs. Livermore, as modest as she is able and brave, has certainly added a valuable chapter to the history of the war in this finely bound and elegantly illustrated volume of hospital and camp life, in which is gathered up her personal experiences and observations during a long and trying period. For more than four years she absented herself from a happy home and family, and devoted her time, talents, money and energies to the relief and care of the sick and the wounded. The conspicuous service she rendered to the rank and file of the Union army, as a nurse in hospitals, camps, at the front and on the battle-field, endeared her to thousands of soldiers and their families, and earned for her the gratitude of a Nation. To portray her work and experiences during these years, and to present a vivid inner picture of the womanly side of the war, is the prime object of this volume.

Mrs. Livermore was the head and front of the Sanitary Commission, an organization that had representatives on every battle-field. Her account of life at the headquarters of the Commission is deeply affecting, and is an unwritten chapter of the war.

The work is most beautifully illustrated with portraits and numerous full-page engravings on steel and fine chromo-lithograph plates. There are eight of the latter, reproducing in exact colors the most famous of the battle flags of the Union army, showing all the colors, tints, stains, rents, shot-holes and splintered staffs, exactly as they appear in the original

flags, of which these plates are in every respect perfect fac-similes. Even the gold stars and the lettering and inscriptions on the flags are perfectly reproduced in gold in these plates. Every loyal state is here represented by its most noted battle-flags, all of which were carried through the war, and are more or less shot-riddled, blood-stained, tattered and torn. The story of each flag is told in full, and many thrilling incidents are given of the bravery and devotion of the gallant men who carried them, together with pathetic incidents attending the death of color-bearers who died under their folds. One page is devoted to Confederate battle-flags, captured by Union soldiers. It is a fine and unique collection, alone worth the price of the book. Mrs. Livermore is now famous throughout the world as an able and highly gifted woman. Her public life began with her career in the war. The first public speech she ever made was an appeal for aid for sick and wounded soldiers. She is a born orator. In this volume she gives many reminiscences of her public life, with anecdotes and incidents gleaned from twenty-five years' experience on the platform. She tells how she crossed the Mississippi in a row-boat and faced an audience for the first time. Since that time she has delivered thousands of lectures on temperance and on woman's work in the war. At her feet hundreds of thousands have sat and listened with admiration and wonder.

'SHOW US THE FATHER.' By Minot J. Savage, Samuel R. Calthrop, Henry M. Simmons, John W. Chadwick, William C. Gannett and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Under the above caption has been gathered a series of addresses and papers prepared by leading Unitarian thinkers and writers, making a volume of richness and power in thought and language, and expressing the theology of the

best thinkers in that branch of religious faith. Of these, the first, "The Change of Front of the Universe," was delivered by Mr. Savage before the New York and Hudson River Unitarian conference in 1882; "The Fullness of God," by Mr. Calthrop, at the National conference at Saratoga in 1886, and others at other important meetings of the church. Taken together, they furnish a remarkably clear and able exposition of the articles of faith held by the Unitarian church.

'THE LIFE OF LA FAYETTE, THE KNIGHT OF LIBERTY IN TWO WORLDS AND TWO CENTURIES.' By Lydia Hoyt Farmer, author of 'The Boys' Book of Famous Rulers,' 'Girls' Book of Famous Queens,' 'A Story-Book of Science,' etc. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

Mrs. Farmer well says that the life of General Marquis de La Fayette is intimately connected with the two most important epochs in the history of both France and America. "His name binds together those two nations by indissoluble bonds of sympathy; and Washington and La Fayette will forever be found side by side in the annals of history." The author has a special claim to attention in this work. As a large part of the material presented therein has been gathered from French works never before translated, and which are now out of print, and also from original files of newspapers and various manuscripts written by members of the La Fayette family, a more complete life of the great French hero is offered than has before appeared either in this country or in Europe. The work has been carefully and faithfully performed, with an interest that seems to have grown upon the writer as it does upon the reader, and with that easy and graceful style which is carried upon all of Mrs. Farmer's works. As the lady is a resident of Cleveland, the book must have an especial interest in this direction, although it needs no special plea or claim to give it a welcome anywhere. The various and numerous illustrations with which the book abounds have been selected with care, and in special consideration of those

parts of LaFayette's career that have usually been passed over lightly in American works.

'INDIANA: A REDEMPTION FROM SLAVERY.' Vol. XII. of 'American Commonwealths.' By J. P. Dunn, jr., author of 'Massacres of the Mountains,' and secretary of the Indiana Historical society. With a map, 16mo., gilt top, \$1.25. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

Mr. Dunn is a resident of Indiana and thoroughly familiar with its history. By adequate knowledge and literary skill he is peculiarly competent to treat the subject broadly and in accordance with the scope of the series, which has been well stated by a competent critic: "The books are not mere state histories; they are something much more and very much better than that. They are attempts to embody what is most distinct and peculiar in the political life and history of each state, and to show how that has contributed to the development of the whole. The wide-spread interest awakened in the past of our Nation will find much to satisfy it in these volumes, for the design is original and the execution excellent." Mr. Dunn's book possesses a special interest from the fact that it is the only record of the official and political life of William Henry Harrison while he was governor of Indiana territory, and gives for the first time the details of the struggle over the question of slavery in that commonwealth. It also contains a large number of historical incidents that throw light upon the subjugation, settlement and development of the entire west.

'WIT AND HUMOR: THEIR USE AND ABUSE.' By William Mathews, LL. D., author of 'Words: Their Use and Abuse,' 'Oratory and Orators,' 'Men, Places and Things.' Published by S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago.

Professor Mathews' facility for producing books that entertain while they instruct is great, but not more so than the welcome extended to those productions by the reading public. It can be truthfully said that his books are always strongly characteristic, and few

writers have a happier faculty of combining entertainment and instruction. This new volume is not a mere collection of funny things, but a cheery, chatty and, withal, a philosophic treatise—enriched by examples as a pudding is with plums—on wit and humor, showing the difference between them, the erroneous conceptions of their nature, and especially their legitimate and illegitimate uses. An analysis of the wit and humor of all classes, preachers, laymen and worldlings, the surprising survival of ancient witticisms, and many other points of equal interest, are treated with the racy flavor of one who is thoroughly in love with his subject. It is a book of especial import in our day, when wit and humor, with their attendant graces, play so important a part in business, in politics, in literature and in social life. The publishers are certainly safe in commending such a book to the attention of the cultured and scholarly as well as the general reader who seeks amusement only.

‘UNCLE TOM’S TENEMENT.’ A novel. By Alice Wellington Rollins, author of ‘The Three Tetons,’ ‘All Sorts of Children,’ ‘The Story of a Ranch,’ ‘The Ring of Amethyst,’ etc. Published by The William E. Smythe Co., Boston.

While this work is made after the form of a novel, it is more—it is as much a story and no more, than was the great model after which it was formed. The author makes no concealment that her title and theme were borrowed from and suggested by the original ‘Uncle Tom.’ In her preface she openly says: “I am conscious of the contrast naturally suggested between the two books, as well as between the two evils. I can only hope that in subjecting myself to this inevitable criticism I may have made evident my genuine humility in being willing to suffer personally for the sake of any added effectiveness in the lessons I have tried to teach.” It is evident that the author is genuine in her statement, for she must suffer from the comparison made with a story-writer like Mrs. Stowe. At the same time she is so thoroughly, enthusiastically in

earnest in what she says, and in her zeal for the cause of the northern slave of labor, that her book is a veritable tract, and strikes fire into every sympathetic heart. It is a series of sketches, earnest, zealous, strong, vivid. The portrayal of character is good, and the processes and results of poverty and ignorance, strongly and incisively shown. The key-note of the work is struck in a quotation from the original Uncle Tom to the original Cassie: “If I get to be as hard-hearted as Sambo and as wicked, it won’t make much odds to me how I come so; it’s the bein’ so; that ar’s what I’m a dreadin’.” Mrs. Rollins accentuates this idea. It is not so much the misery of these poor lower classes—often they grow to love the slums—it is that they do not feel their misery, that in a dull way they are content; above all, it is the utter loss of moral nature. The apostles of kindness in the story are Benham, an agreeable journalist, and a young girl, both individual, the former interesting. In his rambles through the slums he gives some vivid descriptions of tenement life. As, for example: “Out of every window hung somebody, a man smoking a pipe, or a lank, forbidding woman with hair uncombed, looking at nothing, only leaning out. Children—or were they imps?—were everywhere that men and women were not.” One is reminded of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps in that wonderful short story of hers, ‘The Lady of Shalott.’ To quote again from Mrs. Rollins: “Here it was not hard work that impressed you—it was a sort of horrible leisure. What were these people doing? Nothing. What did they want to do? Nothing. What could they do? Nothing. What were they looking at? Nothing. What could you do for them? Nothing. ‘It’s a French Revolution struck with paralysis,’ he murmured. . . . ‘I’m not afraid of the people’s rising. I’m afraid of their not rising.’ . . . ‘They have lived in filth till they prefer filth. . . . I heard of a woman the other day who even objected to the clean halls and stairs of an improved tenement. It was too like a prison, she said—a prison being the only other clean place she had ever seen.’”

The book is one that must cause sharp comment—perhaps criticism—wherever read. That it will be read, and has been widely read already, the facts in the case show clearly. The moral that it carries does not interfere at all with the power and interest of the story, but deepens it and gives it a shadowy meaning that it could not otherwise possess.

‘MY FRIEND THE BOSS: A STORY OF TO-DAY.’

By Edward Everett Hale, D. D., author of ‘Ten Times One is Ten,’ ‘In His Name,’ ‘A Man Without a Country,’ etc., etc. Published by J. Stilman Smith & Company, Boston.

‘HOW THEY LIVED IN HAMPTON: A STORY OF PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY APPLIED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF WOOLENS.’ By Edward Everett Hale, D. D. Published by J. Stilman Smith & Company, Boston.

The work first named shows us how the rich men might and, perhaps, should spend their money in that ideal community, or state of society, of which Mr. Hale dreams, and which he has manfully used his great genius and greater heart to aid in bringing about. The second work named touches upon the Christian relations of the capitalist and workman to each other. The lesson sought to be conveyed comes in the form of a story; and in the wedding together of interest in the work, as one of fiction, with the moral idea sought to be taught, no more skillful hand than that of Mr. Hale can be found, as his earlier efforts in that direction well attest. The books come at a time when people are seeking light not only for others but for their own guidance, and will help any such into whose hands they may fall.

‘OUTLINE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST.’ Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

This is a timely publication in this anniversary year of the settlement of the Northwest. It is prepared for the uses of study clubs, and arranged to occupy fifteen meetings, each meeting being devoted to a particular division of the study, and three special topics being provided for each. There is also a very complete

list of books and references. In view of the interest excited in this subject by the celebration at Marietta, this little publication ought to meet the wants of a large number of clubs and individual students, as well in the east as in the west.

‘A PHYSICIAN’S PROBLEMS.’ By Charles Elam, M. D., M. R. C. P. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

‘THE LOVER, AND SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE ENGLISHMAN, TOWN TALK, THE READER, THE SPINSTER.’ By Richard Steele. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

‘DREAMTHORP: A BOOK OF ESSAYS WRITTEN IN THE COUNTRY.’ By Alexander Smith, author of ‘A Life Drama,’ ‘City Poems,’ etc. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

The three works above named are portions of the “Good Company” series which are being rapidly issued by Lee & Shepard, of which commendatory mention has been already made in these pages. The authors will be readily recognized as among the foremost of their day, and the best judgment has been evinced in the selection of authors and subjects in every volume yet given place in this series. Its popularity was assured from the first.

The following pamphlets and other minor publications have been received:

‘FORT SNELLING, MINNESOTA, WHILE IN COMMAND OF COLONEL JOSIAH SNELLING.’ By Rev. Edward D. Neill, D. D. Reprinted from THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Cleveland.

‘MATTHEW WILSON, D. D., OF LEWES, DELAWARE.’ By Rev. Edward D. Neill. Extracted from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for March, 1884. Philadelphia, 1888.

‘GUIDE-BOOK TO THE MAMMOTH CAVE OF KENTUCKY; HISTORICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND DESCRIPTIVE.’ By Horace C. Hovey. With map and illustrations. Published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

‘MEMORIAL UPON THE DEATH OF ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS, BY THE MARIETTA COLLEGE CLUB OF CINCINNATI.’ Printed by the Marietta college club.

